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POLICY RESOLUTIONS

ADOPTED NOVEMBER 1971
BY THE NINTH
CONSTITUTIONAL
CONVENTION

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES

Pay Board

It is our duty to report to the membership of the AFL-CIO and to the working people of America that the wage control mechanism established by the President of the United States is being used as a device to destroy the basic American concept of free collective bargaining.

The trade union movement joined the Pay Board on the basis of a commitment from the President that it would be tripartite and independent and that the public members would be citizens of high repute, knowledgeability and neutrality. That commitment has not been kept.

We must now report that the public members, so-called, are not independent but rather are handmaidens of the Administration. They are not neutral but have long ties either to industry or to government. In fact, one is still on the government payroll and another was a government official until the day before his appointment to the Pay Board.

As one of its first acts, the Pay Board—by a 10-5 vote with the industry and the so-called public members acting in concert—nullified thousands of legal contracts covering millions of workers.

We flatly reject the concept that anyone—be it Pay Board or President—has the power to abrogate any legal collective bargaining agreement or any other contract voluntarily and legally entered into by American citizens or their representatives. If we were to take any other position, then every contract—mortgage, corporate bond issue, sales contract or any other form of agreement voluntarily entered into by American citizens—would be subject to abrogation in similar fashion, a concept we reject without equivocation.

There is little hope that economic justice can be achieved by this Board, the majority of whom are guided by the dictates of the Administration or the interests of big business.

Against this background, the AFL-CIO Executive Council recommends to the convention:

1. That our representatives remain on the Pay Board only so long as a reasonable hope exists of securing recognition of the validity of contracts and of achieving justice for working people generally—including, most particularly, those with low or substandard incomes and those without the protection of strong bargaining represntatives.

Until those objectives are assured, labor cannot associate itself with the actions of the board or encourage cooperation with their administration or enforcement.

2. That the unions of the AFL-CIO insist at every level on the validity of their contracts in all their terms and in all their particulars, and that they take every lawful action at their command to insure that their contracts are honored.

3. That the AFL-CIO continue the legislative effort in the Congress to protect the validity of contracts.

We will not relax for a moment our fight to increase the standard of life and livelihood for those at the bottom of the economic ladder—those whom the majority of the Pay Board seem to have forgotten.

We repeat what we have said in the past:

The American labor movement will not permit itself to become the scapegoat for Administration policies which have brought this nation to the brink of economic disaster.

National Economy

Thirty-four months of Administration game plans have plagued the American people with the worst combination of economic trends—high unemployment, idle plants and machines, rapid inflation and declining public confidence.

With the national economy operating more than $75 billion below productive capacity, the amount of slack is now so great that only decisive government action can begin to turn the economy around rapidly, toward full employment.

The Administration's new "game plan," announced suddenly and without explanation on Aug. 15, 1971, provides little, if any, stimulus to boost sales, production and employment. However, this new "game plan," based on the trickle-down theory of the 19th Century, would redistribute income and wealth to big business and wealthy families, at the expense of middle- and low-income Americans. Moreover, the federal tax base would be eroded through tax bonanzas for business, particularly the big corporations, with resultant losses of billions of dollars of federal revenue needed for expanded and improved public investment.

The new "game plan" would add a lopsided economy, increased social inequities and an eroded tax base to the Administration's dismal record, under the old "game plan."

Immediate and substantial government measures are needed to create jobs, boost sales and lift production—to provide the increasing number of employment-opportunities for the unemployment and the growing labor force, in this period of declining defense production and a drop in the size of the Armed Forces.

The needed expansionary measures to reduce unemployment would increase the volume of production, boost productivity and reduce pressures on costs and prices. Government efforts to drive down interest rates would ease inflationary pressures throughout the economy, while encouraging job-creating expansion.

Moreover, immediate increases in public investment to create jobs and lift the economy would mesh with American society's long-range need for greatly expanded public facilities and services.

1. In this 25th anniversary year of the Employment Act of 1946, the federal government should re-establish full employment as the top-priority objective of national economic policy —jobs at decent wages for all people who are able to work and desire employment.

The federal government's tax, expenditure and monetary policies, in combination, should encourage sufficient job-creating economic expansion. For the unemployed and seriously underemployed, improvement and enlargement of the public-service employment program, adopted in 1971, are required.

2. We urge the President to release immediately the billions of dollars of congressionally-appropriated funds, which he has frozen—to create urgently needed jobs in a variety of essential federal programs, ranging from Appalachia to highway safety.

We urge Congress to provide full funding of programs to meet America's public investment needs in such areas as education, health care, low- and moderate-income housing, pollution controls and community facilities. In addition, a special program of federal grants to states, local governments and federal agencies is required to accelerate short-term public works construction and repairs in areas of high unemployment.

Such actions are essential to lift sales, production, employment and public confidence. They could be a key to reconversion by offsetting the declining defense proportion of national production with an increased emphasis on public investment. They would also boost government revenues as employment and incomes rise—the soundest way to reduce the federal budget deficits that have resulted from the Administration's engineered recession and stretched-out sluggishness.

3. America needs a rapid expansion of money and credit, at reduced interest rates, to stimulate economic expansion.

Confronted by the President's failure to establish selective controls and allocation of credit, under the authority of a statute

enacted in December 1969, we urge Congress to direct the Federal Reserve to do so—to establish interest-rate ceilings, to channel credit where it would most benefit the economy and to curb the flow of credit for such activities as conglomerate take-overs, land speculation and foreign subsidiaries. Congress should also empower and direct the Federal Reserve to provide available credit, at preferential lower interest rates, for urgently-needed community facilities, health care projects and low-income housing.

A congressional review of the entire Federal Reserve system and the nation's monetary policy is long overdue—to bring America's central bank fully into the federal government structure, to provide improved coordination of the nation's monetary policy and to make the Board of Governors and the managing boards of the district banks more representative of the major groups in the economy, including workers and consumers.

4. Attainment of justice in the federal tax structure is essential. The improvement, achieved in 1969, was merely one step forward. To provide a fair and equitable basis for raising federal revenue, the loopholes of special tax privilege for wealthy families and corporations must be eliminated and the relative tax burden of middle- and low-income taxpayers should be reduced.

State and local government tax structures must also be revised to make them both more productive and more equitable.

5. The stagnation of the real wages of American workers, during most of the past six years, must be ended. Increases in the buying power of workers' wages and salaries are a basic prerequisite for economic growth—to provide workers with a share in the benefits of economic progress and to establish the foundation for the needed expansion of consumer markets. Rapid economic growth will not be possible without a substantial boost of consumer sales, which account for almost two-thirds of the national economy. And the needed rise of consumer expenditures cannot possibly be achieved, unless increases in the real incomes of workers are attained.

6. To curb the price-raising ability of the dominant corporations, government action is needed to curtail the high rate of business mergers and conglomerate take-overs, which have been greatly increasing the concentration of economic power in a narrowing group of corporations and banks. In pursuit of this objective, we urge a thorough congressional study of the structure of the American economy.

7. The specific causes of soaring pressures on living costs, such as physicians' fees, hospital charges, housing costs (including soaring land prices and interest rates) and auto insurance, should be examined for the development of practical, sensible measures to dampen these pressures.

8. We state again, as on numerous occasions since February 1966: If the President determines that the situation warrants extraordinary overall stabilization measures, the AFL-CIO will cooperate so long as such restraints are equitably placed on all costs and incomes—including all prices, profits, dividends, rents, interest rates and executive compensation, as well as employees' wages and salaries. We are prepared to sacrifice as much as anyone else, as long as anyone else, so long as there is equality of sacrifice.

9. We urge the federal government to develop, as soon as possible, a comprehensive and coordinated national inventory of needs for housing, community facilities and public services. A detailed inventory of present backlogs and growing needs should be prepared by each state and metropolitan area, as well. On the basis of such national, state and metropolitan area inventories of needs, the federal government should provide a national effort to meet specific requirements within specific periods of time—through financial and technical grants-in-aid to the states and cities and guaranteed loans, as well as through direct loans and direct federal measures. The timing to reach established targets for meeting the various categories of needs should be speeded up or slowed down, depending on the availability of manpower and productive capacity, within the context of expanding programs. A massive, coordinated national effort to meet these needs is long overdue, to strengthen the fabric of American society.

10. We call upon the federal government to establish a technological clearing house to gather information on a continuing basis on technological change and its effects on the welfare of the American people, as a basis for public and private programs of adjustments to the disruptive impact of spreading automation. We urge the government to provide unions and employers with a comprehensive information and assistance service that could provide assistance, upon request, in developing labor-management solutions for the complex problems that are related to the impact of automation at the work-place. We also urge the government to encourage research and development in new technology for meeting national needs in such areas as pollution control, urban transportation and improving the quality of life in the 1970s.

Tax Reform

The Tax Reform Act of 1969 represented a forward step down the road to tax justice. Some loopholes were trimmed and some relief was given to the poor and to wage and salary earners who have borne more than their fare share of the nation's tax burden. But the tax structure is still full of loopholes of special tax privi-

leges for wealthy people and corporations. It is still rigged against wages and salaries which are taxed in full, while only half of capital gains are subject to taxation and some other forms of income are not taxed at all. The federal tax structure is still replete with injustices.

The AFL-CIO urges the Congress and the Administration to complete the unfinished business of achieving tax justice. The major reforms we recommend are as follows:

1. Top priority must be given to closing the capital-gains loophole. The preferential half-tax rate which applies to gains on unearned income from stocks or other property sold at a profit and the zero tax that applies to such gains when passed on at death are the most disruptive elements in our tax structure. We believe that there cannot be tax justice so long as unearned income is half-taxed, while earned income is taxed in full.

2. The special tax privileges of the oil, gas and other mineral industries should be completely ended.

3. The tax exemption for interest income from state and local bonds should be disallowed. Such income should be taxed in full, with the federal government guaranteeing the bonds and providing an interest-subsidy to assure that the fiscal powers of the state and local governments are not hampered.

4. The minimum tax provisions of the 1969 Tax Reform Act which require some tax payments on the part of individuals with large amounts of income from tax-sheltered sources such as capital gains, real estate depreciation, oil depletion, and hobby farms should be strengthened.

5. The maximum-tax provisions of the 1969 Act which provide an uncalled-for tax bonanza to top corporate executives and others whose income comes from very high fees and salaries should be eliminated.

6. The Treasury's ruling, which permits a 20 percent speedup in depreciation write-offs for business machinery and equipment and eliminates the requirement that business replace assets at about the rate they are written off, should be disallowed.

7. There should be complete elimination of the many business tax provisions which contribute to the alarming trend of corporate mergers and acquisition, spur the growth of huge multinational corporations, and provide incentives for the export of U.S. productive facilities and American jobs.

8. In addition to the reforms in the federal individual and corporate income tax, a major overhaul of federal estate and gift taxes is a prerequisite to the achievement of tax justice. Present law provides a host of opportunities to minimize or entirely avoid these taxes or postpone payment for generations through devices such as family trusts.

9. Elimination of these loopholes of special tax privilege for wealthy families and corporations would increase federal revenue by billions of additional dollars each year. It would provide the funds needed to improve and increase public facilities and services, in the coming years. It would also provide the basis for a reduction in the relative tax burden of low- and middle-income taxpayers.

Finally, the AFL-CIO urges a continuing vigil to assure the rejection of all tax devices and gimmicks that run counter to the goals of tax justice. These include proposals such as the value-added tax, which is simply a national sales tax masquerading under a new name, or the many so-called tax-incentive schemes such as the investment credit or the Administration's proposed Domestic International Sales Corporation (DISC) gimmick. Such measures are haphazard, costly and wasteful approaches to meeting national goals. They reward those who need it least, at the expense of those who need it most.

Financing State and Local Governments

The AFL-CIO believes that the federal government can best meet its responsibilities to the state and local governments and to all Americans through taxing and spending policies that are developed by Congress, enacted by Congress, funded by Congress and reviewed by Congress.

The AFL-CIO has always championed measures to effectively increase the quantity and quality of the nation's public facilities and services. We are particularly concerned over the budgetary strains and public-investment backlogs facing the state and local governments and especially America's larger cities.

We believe that there is much that can be done by the state and local governments to improve their public-investment capabilities, and at the same time the federal government's role must be expanded and strengthened.

1. The development of state and local tax structures that are equitable and productive is a major requirement. The states must increase reliance on progressive income-tax structures that are based on the principle of ability-to-pay. At the same time, efforts should be made to minimize the inequities of sales and property taxes. For example, items such as food and medicine should not be taxed; credits and rebates against the state income tax should be permitted to ease the burden of sales and property taxes on low- and moderate-income groups. Moreover, the tax break, in many localities, given to industrial and commercial property at the expense of the home-owner and renter through inequitable assessments is scandalous and must be corrected.

2. Effective modernization of state and local governments is essential. Such efforts should include elimination of obsolete or restrictive constitutional constraints, an increased role of the states in supporting certain local functions such as elementary and secondary education, and the consolidation of inefficient local government units.

3. Federal grant-in-aid programs should be fully funded and the Executive branch should ensure that monies already appropriated by the Congress are made available to the state and local governments as quickly as possible.

4. Substantial increases are needed in the flow of federal categorical grants-in-aid to the states and local governments for specific programs in the nation's interest, such as education, manpower training, health and hospitals, metropolitan transportation, air- and water-pollution control, urban renewal and public-service jobs.

5. A careful review of present federal categorical grants is required. Such a review should aim at consolidating overlapping grants, increasing their efficiency, examining matching-fund formulas, and making it easier for state and local officials to be aware of and obtain the federal aids available to them. However, the purposes, performance standards and requirements of the programs must be safeguarded in any consolidating and streamlining of grant programs.

6. Federal take-over of the costs of public welfare and the adoption of a program of national health security. Such actions would relieve the states and localities of a huge financial burden and at the same time eliminate two of America's most grievous public-service failures.

7. Development of such institutions as a federal Urban Bank to provide states and localities easier access to long-term, low-interest loans for the construction of public housing, urban transit systems, and other community facilities.

8. The establishment of a federal tax credit for state income-tax payments in place of the present method of deducting such taxes from taxable income. This would add a big element of equity to the federal tax structure and at the same time encourage the states to make more effective use of income taxes.

Finally, the AFL-CIO urges complete rejection of any attempts to share federal funds with the states on a no-strings basis. The nation's interests will not be served through no-strings-attached delivery systems for federal aids, which are not tailored to specific program needs, developed in line with national goals and priorities, subject to congressional scrutiny, and conducted under federal standards of performance.

Manpower

The key to an effective manpower policy is job creation. Training, while important and necessary, is not an end in itself. Training must be followed by a job if it is to have any value.

Attainment of full employment is the basic prerequisite of an effective and comprehensive, national manpower policy.

When the regular job-creating channels in the economy, both private and public, do not create enough jobs, the federal government must provide sufficient funds for a large-scale public-service employment program. Such program to create jobs for the unemployed and seriously under-employed would provide badly needed services in hospitals, schools, fire and police departments, recreational facilities, sanitation, pollution controls and other state, local and federal government facilities. It would aid the unemployed, improve and increase public services and it would ease the financial plight of hard-pressed state and local governments.

Federal legislation for a public-service employment program was adopted by Congress in 1970, but it was vetoed by the President. A similar bill was passed in June 1971 and this time it was signed by the President. Under this legislation, about 150,000 public-service jobs would be created and the program, which terminates in two years, would operate only when the unemployment rate remains above 4.5 percent for three consecutive months. Despite these limitations, the launching of the public-service employment program is an important initial step.

It would be unfortunate, however, if the program were to be endangered by inept and politically motivated administration. Already funds have been allocated and program agents designated in a manner that distorts the intent and nature of the program in clear violation of the wishes of Congress.

This has meant the bypassing of school districts and smaller cities and counties as direct applicants for grants. It has also given governors political leverage—contrary to the intent of Congress.

We intend to maintain a close watch over the administration of this act and we will bring to the attention of the Congress the extent to which its will has been ignored or flouted, and we will insist that the requirement that labor organizations directly involved be given the opportunity to comment on applications be adhered to.

In the establishment of manpower programs, in both the private and public sectors, we insist on provision of adequate

wage and working standards. Wages, under these programs, should be at least at the level of the federal minimum wage or the prevailing rate of pay for the occupation, whichever is higher. Manpower programs should not be used to subsidize low-wage, substandard employers and to undermine the wage and working standards of other workers, to aid runaways, to subsidize high labor turnover or jobs which do not call for training before hire.

The needed comprehensive national manpower policy would consolidate the multiple and varied, federally-supported manpower programs under a federal, centrally consolidated administration under the Department of Labor. Over the past 10 years, new manpower agencies have come into being, with conflicting and overlapping jurisdictions.

As a part of such consolidation, we urge that the U. S. Employment Service be federalized. At present, there are 50 state systems. An effective, nationwide employment service should be established to meet the needs of workers and employers on a national basis.

Until federalization is accomplished, we urge that steps be taken immediately to strengthen the ability of the U. S. Employment Service to enforce higher standards of performance by state employment service agencies and to assure that the service will pattern its operations according to the needs of workers and employers to match workers with job-openings and not be hemmed in by community and state boundaries.

We are opposed to the Administration's manpower revenue sharing proposals which represent an abdication of federal responsibility to state and local governments in the administration and development of manpower programs. It would allocate manpower funds to the state and local governments with practically no strings attached. It would jeopardize the existence of such national programs as the Job Corps. It makes no provision for the protection of labor standards.

A comprehensive national manpower program must be national in scope. Such program would retain overall federal government control of policy and direction, while sharing administration of programs with the state and local governments. It would establish a comprehensive manpower set-up that would consolidate and coordinate all manpower activities under a central administration and, at the same time, retain such significant categorical programs as the Job Corps. In addition, it should have enough flexibility to allow the emphasis to be shifted from one type of program to another, as the situation might warrant; to give special manpower aid to depressed areas; to provide

specialized training and job assistance to hard-hit occupational groups; and to provide for a large-scale public-service employment program.

Human Resources Development Institute

HRDI, in its three years of existence, has developed the staff capability to serve state and local central labor councils by providing guidance and counsel on state and local manpower programs and issues; to serve local unions by assisting them in their relationships with employers and governmental agencies concerning manpower training and to serve as a resource for AFL-CIO affiliated national and international unions in dealing with their manpower training problems.

HRDI has also been able to demonstrate its ability to develop new programs that involve the machinery and relationships that exist within organized labor as the results of the Veterans' Assistance Program and the Job Placement Programs have shown.

In light of the action by the Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, to decentralize manpower program planning to the cities and states and to fund programs through the Manpower Administration regional offices, the role of HRDI takes on added significance.

In addition, the enactment of public service employment legislation will involve a number of AFL-CIO affiliates in problems related to the implementation of this program with governmental units at various levels. Here again, the technical knowledge of HRDI staff can be a valuable resource for these unions.

The Executive Council recommends that:

1. The AFL-CIO continue to stimulate through HRDI the participation of organized labor in manpower training programs, either as direct program sponsors or in cooperation with management.

2. State and local central bodies take the necessary steps to achieve representation on state and local manpower planning bodies appointed by mayors and governors under the decentralization program, in the interest of meeting the manpower needs of the localities through well-conceived programs directed at existing jobs that meet established wage and work standards.

3. National and international unions support the HRDI Veterans' Assistance Program by urging the cooperation of their local unions in this effort.

4. HRDI continue and expand its efforts in developing training programs for the disadvantaged and in assisting organized labor

to participate fully and effectively in all phases of planning and program development, and in helping the disadvantaged, including returning veterans, to enter the job market.

5. HRDI offer technical assistance upon request to AFL-CIO affiliated unions at the local and state level in resolving problems arising in connection with the involvement of these unions in the public service employment program, authorized under the Emergency Employment Act.

6. HRDI continue to make its services available to national and international unions in dealing with their manpower problems.

The Environment

The challenge of pollution is far from met, although there has been some improvement over the past two years.

In the administration of federal anti-pollution legislation, we urge that the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration be transferred from the Department of Commerce to the Environmental Protection Agency. The administration of the Refuse should also be transferred from the Corps of Army Engineers to the Environmental Protection Agency, with responsibilities extended to cover intra-state as well as inter-state navigable waters, underground waters, lakes, esturaries, the contiguous coastal areas, and appurtenant land.

Changes in industrial processes, to abate air and water pollution, may cost jobs in one area and gain them in another sector. Workers, however, are badly in need of protection against environmental blackmail by management and possible misrepresentations of job loss resulting from the cost of complying with a government abatement order and where companies threaten to leave and relocate in another state or locality, whose laws and enforcement programs are softer on polluters.

Therefore, the federal air and water pollution acts should be amended to provide national emission standards on all existing stationary sources of both air and water pollution. The amendment should provide that any employer, alleging that an abatement order will cause layoffs, dismissals, or cessation of operations, must prove its case before an administrative hearing called by the federal agency involved. Any company, in those circumstances, which fails to demonstrate such relationship, would be subject to civil penalties. Any worker or workers' representative, using the protections and rights of the act, must be protected from management sanctions by non-discrimination provisions in the federal air and water pollution control acts.

If an actual job-loss is demonstrated, federal manpower training and other special programs should assist the workers.

Because of air pollution and the tremendous drain on energy fuels by internal combustion engines for automotive vehicles, we once again urge that the National Air Pollution Control Administration give top priority on developing alternative sources of power for such vehicles, particularly in the field of steam power.

Although the 1970 Clean Air Act Amendments streamlined the enforcement process, the federal, regional and state enforcement efforts have not been adequate. There should be a concerted crackdown on all violators of emission standards.

The AFL-CIO supports amendments to the federal Water Pollution Control Act which would:

Cover all navigable waters, underground waters, lakes, coastal areas, contiguous coast areas, soil wash from all sources, feed lots, sanitary landfills, and associated land problems affecting water quality.

Empower the federal government to establish national emission standards. All industrial concerns releasing effluents into water would be required to measure and report the kinds and quality of such effluents to the federal government.

Provide for issuance of immediate abatement orders enforced by federal court orders. Civil and criminal penalties for violators should be stiffened. The 1899 Refuse Act should be made an important enforcement tool.

At least $3 billion each year for the next five years, should be appropriated by Congress for federal grants to assist municipalities in construction or modification of sewage treatment plants.

Such a program could create more than 250,000 new jobs, many in areas of high unemployment, with a multiplier effect, adding as many as 300,000 additional new jobs. To assist needy communities, the present 66 percent federal matching ceiling should be increased to 80 percent.

Each state plan should require river basin planning as the foundation of its abatement program as a condition of receiving federal approval and financial assistance.

The nation is in need of a national land-use policy as an important and logical next step to improve and enhance the quality of our environment, and at the same time, provide for sound use and development, consistent with the economic and social needs of the American people.

Such a national land use policy should include the following: a federal grant-in-aid program to assist state and local govern-

ments in establishing or improving their land-use programs and managements, and adopting broad land-use laws and programs; a federal program to improve land-use planning and operations on federally owned lands; developing data on major land-use and planning trends; strengthening federal, state and local soil conservation programs.

We continue to support the family farm ownership, the break-up of huge land monopolies, and strict enforcement of the excess acreage provisions of federal reclamation laws.

We urge an expansion of the federal role and increased emphasis in solid wastes technology, in particular those dealing with separation, recycling and re-use of solid wastes. A broad and systematic program should give full consideration to human values, including the jobs of workers in the private sector as well as those employed in the disposal field.

Energy

The AFL-CIO has time and again, over the past decade, called for a comprehensive natural resources and energy policy, integrated with a full-employment economic policy which would protect and preserve the environment, protect the interests of the consuming public, and eliminate duplication of functions and waste among the scattered federal resources departments and agencies.

A long-range national energy policy is needed that will influence the percent of America's future energy requirements supplied by oil, natural gas, coal and uranium. Such a policy should develop a rational pattern of research, development and conservation of energy resources, resolution of problems of costs, supply, monopolization, pollution, and the necessary restructuring of the federal agencies engaged in these fields.

Just as the President is now advised by a statutory Council of Environmental Advisers, a similarly constituted Council on National Energy Policy should be created by Congress. The council's functions should include a close consultative relationship with the Environmental Protection Agency, annual reports to Congress on the state of the nation's energy posture, projections of energy resources and needs, and recommend research and development programs to help solve present and future problems of competition, new and improved technologies, consumer protection and foreign supply.

We urge the establishment by Congress of long-range programs to develop our enormous oil shale resource, and utilizing domestic coal reserves by converting them into supplies of low-pollution natural gas.

The creation of TVA-type development agencies are needed in order to most effectively achieve the national objectives of abundant low-cost supply of such new energy fuels, guard against monopoly, provide a federal cost yardstick to protect consumers, conserve the resources and prevent environmental damage.

We have long urged high priority to development of a feasible breeder reactor technology. We support congressional authorization of a demonstration breeder reactor to be constructed and operated by the Atomic Energy Commission, with the most meticulous protection against the terrible hazards of plutonium, one of the most dangerous materials. This should be done with full participation by the nation's scientific community, and protection against breeder reactors close to population centers.

While we endorse the recent strengthening by the Atomic Energy Commission of its standards, governing release of airborne radioactive materials to the general environment, we insist that such reductions be made to apply to all radiation workers as well.

We cannot emphasize too strongly the need for more resources to be placed into the effort to achieve sustained energy from the fusion of the heavy hydrogen atom. The difficult problems that still lie ahead must be more rapidly resolved. Fusion power would make it possible to achieve an almost limitless supply of energy from the oceans.

The continuation of major and minor power brownouts and blackouts, in the past six years, underlies the need for legislation of the kind that the AFL-CIO has urged since 1959. Such a program would create a low-cost, reliable bulk power supply system for the United States, open to participation by all electric systems. The federal government should regulate the creation and operation of regional power supply systems. If such agencies fail to carry out the aims of the program, the federal government should build and operate them.

Once again, we urge Congress to investigate the increasing control over major energy sources by giant integrated corporations, the accompanying decline in competition, and the failure of the Federal Power Commission and the Department of the Interior to provide adequate protection of the public against energy monopolies.

Anti-Poverty Program

Poverty is a national problem. It can and must be eliminated. But it requires economic and social policies that will create jobs and training for all who need them, housing, education, a na-

tional health program, and other services which are essential if the disadvantaged and the minorities, as well as others, are to work and live in decency and dignity.

The anti-poverty effort requires strong federal direction and adequate funding. It requires a specifically designated agency whose primary concern would be to speak for the poor and maintain the focus of national concern on the need to combat poverty.

The AFL-CIO urges Congress to continue the national effort to eliminate poverty, and that anti-poverty programs be strengthened and adequately funded. Congress can best do this by specifically earmarking funds to indicate to OEO its desires in terms of program emphasis.

The AFL-CIO is opposed to any effort to downgrade the status of the anti-poverty effort through political interference at the state level, or by turning over to the states the responsibility for direction of this program.

The AFL-CIO is opposed to transferring or delegating successful anti-poverty programs to old-line agencies solely in the name of efficiency.

We urge the continuation of OEO as an agency that will serve as a "command post" for the anti-poverty effort which will be a visible symbol to the poor and to the country of the nation's continuing commitment to end poverty.

We support the concept of a private, nonprofit Legal Services Corporation, as embodied in the bill proposed by a bipartisan group of Senators and Congressmen, and urge its acceptance by the Congress as a new title in the Economic Opportunity Act.

The AFL-CIO supports the concept embodied in the comprehensive child development proposal introduced into the Senate as a new title in the Economic Opportunity Act.

The AFL-CIO urges the Congress to reaffirm its faith in the war on poverty by maintaining OEO as an adequately funded independent agency committed to helping the poor move into the mainstream of our society.

Fair Labor Standards Act

WHEREAS, Congress is on its way toward enacting new minimum wage or Fair Labor Standards Act legislation. A bill to increase the minimum wage to $2.00 an hour is before the House of Representatives and one to raise it to $2.25 is before the Senate. The legislation in both chambers also provides some additional new coverage and closes some other existing exemption loopholes in the Fair Labor Standards Act, and

WHEREAS, After these amendments to the FLSA are approved by Congress, additional new legislation still will be necessary in the future. Further increases in the minimum wage will be required, since $2.00 and even $2.25 an hour still leave full time, minimum wage workers near the current poverty level and far below the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics' "lower living standard budget." Expected future increases in the cost of living will worsen this situation, and

WHEREAS, Millions of workers will still suffer from either complete or partial exclusion from the minimum wage and/or maximum hours provisions. The workweek will still be at the 1938 level and prevent a sharp increase in employment. Puerto Rican workers will still be discriminated against. Farm workers will still get second class treatment. And young people will still suffer from sub-minimums; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO will continue to give top priority support to the maximum immediate improvement feasible through action on the Fair Labor Standards Act amendments now before Congress, and be it further

RESOLVED: That in future action on FLSA legislation, the AFL-CIO will seek:

1. A minimum of at least $2.50 an hour.

2. Full minimum wage and maximum hours coverage for all workers engaged in interstate commerce, the production of goods for commerce or affecting commerce.

3. Equal protection concerning the minimum wage, maximum hours and child labor provisions for farm workers as all other workers.

4. The same minimum wage protection for workers in Puerto Rico as on the mainland U. S.

5. The elimination of all subminimums for youths.

Domestic Workers

WHEREAS, Domestic workers have long been a group of workers who have been exploited, and

WHEREAS, For the first time in history these workers are being proposed for coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act, and

WHEREAS, These workers should be included in the mainstream of economic life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO applaud these proposals and press for passage of this amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Shorter Hours of Work

WHEREAS, Insidiously rising unemployment throughout the United States has created numerous socio-economic problems and adversely affected the lives of millions of workers in countless communities, and

WHEREAS, Improved technology and the increasing use of complex computers and sophisticated automated equipment is further aggravating these already serious problems, and

WHEREAS, The end of our deep involvement in Vietnam will add hundreds of thousands of ex-servicemen and women to the ranks of the unemployed, and

WHEREAS, The flood of low-priced imports and unfair foreign competition generated by powerful multinational concerns continue to force plant closings of U.S. based firms and destroy job opportunities for millions of workers, and

WHEREAS, Shorter hours of work on a daily, weekly or annual basis would not only make millions of jobs immediately available, and create vast new job markets in the fields of leisure, travel, education, hobbycrafts, etc., but also would provide a great many other practical benefits; increased productivity, improved employe morale, drastic drops in absenteeism and reduced employe turnover are virtually guaranteed, according to every available survey on the subject. A 20 percent decrease in traffic congestion; less social stresses and tensions in working, shopping and driving areas; greater availability to participate in community activities and all governmental processes; the opening of wider educational, social and recreational vistas are a few of the individual and personal gains under the new work schedule, and

WHEREAS, The work week has been decreasing by three hours per decade since 1900, thus providing that the 40-hour, 5-day work week is not sacrosanct or immune to change; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this Ninth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO go on record as heartily endorsing a decrease in hours worked whether on a daily, weekly or annual basis with no reduction in wages or benefits.

The Eight-Hour Day

WHEREAS, A recent proposal that government contractors be allowed to insitute a work-week of four 10-hour days is completely unacceptable. The proposal was contained in suggested revisions to the Walsh-Healy Public Contracts Act and the Contract Work Hours and Safety Act. It was the subject of recent U. S. Department of Labor hearings, and

WHEREAS, The labor movement, with the concurrence of the nation as a whole, worked for many years to bring about the eight-hour day. This social reform came literally through the "blood, sweat and tears" of an army of brave and dedicated Americans, and

WHEREAS, In their simplest form, such exemptions would generate a 10 percent reduction in pay on contracts covered by these acts. A worker who currently puts in 40 hours in four days is paid for 32 hours at regular or straight time, plus eight hours of overtime pay at a 50 percent premium, and

WHEREAS, Under the proposed exemptions, the same employe would be paid at regular or straight time levels for all 40 hours, and

WHEREAS, If an employee is presently paid at $4.00 an hour, the difference in his pay check before taxes would be $16.00 per week—$176.00 under current provisions and $160.00 under the proposed exemption, and

WHEREAS, There is no reason to suspect that the savings thus realized would accrue to the population as a whole. There is no evidence to suggest that contractors would lower their delivery prices to the government.

WHEREAS, We must draw the simple conclusion that if the recently conducted investigations were to lead to a relaxation of daily overtime provisions, workers would be required to subsidize a potentially substantial increase in profits for government contractors, and

WHEREAS, Probably more important than the economics of the situation is that the 10-hour day will multiply, rather than simply add to the number and magnitude of workplace-related safety and health problems, and

WHEREAS, Prolonged, unalleviated exposure of workers to hazardous substances, adverse temperatures, limited motion, noise and artificial light, leads to increased fatigue and increased levels of toxic substances in the body. As fatigue and exposure levels increase, the ability to function safely on the job and without permanent impairment to health decreases, and

WHEREAS, Even where establishments meet current Labor Department safety and health standards, the 10-hour day may mean increased injury and death rates for workers, and

WHEREAS, We are interested in shorter work weeks and work days. We look in that direction as a logical extension of the prosperity that this country is capable of generating—prosperity

which has been made possible by the labors of our members and others for whom we think we speak on issues such as this, and

WHEREAS, We do not intend to see this goal achieved through the exploitation of our members, and

WHEREAS, These hearings were applicable to the area of government contracts only. We are not, however, so naive as to believe that the initiation of the four-day, 40-hour, no overtime pay arrangement in the area of government contracts would not lead to its quick application throughout the workforce. Thus, in short order, the Fair Labor Standards Act would be nullified and herald a return to the "old days" when work schedules reflected the strength of the employer, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: 1. That the AFL-CIO make known to all appropriate agencies its opposition to extended workdays; and

2. That if the Congress wishes to alter the current workday-workweek standards, such changes include an eventual reduction in the standard workweek to four days of eight hours; a requirement that no employe shall suffer any loss of earnings in the implementation of such a policy, and a requirement that all hours in excess of eight per day or 32 per week be compensated for at double the employe's basic rate.

Public Ownership and No-Fare Operation of Urban Area Local Transit Systems

WHEREAS, It has become increasingly apparent there is a growing apprehension about the effects on human life by the environmental pollution generated in large part by the use of automobiles within our urban areas; that there is increasing concern about the shrinking tax base within our cities; that there is increasing immobility of labor in our urban areas; and that there is an ever-escalating cost of urban highway building and population relocation; all of which are contributing great challenges to the ability of our cities in the nation to survive as viable entities of our civilization, and

WHEREAS, It has become increasingly apparent that if those problems are to be solved, our urban areas must provide a reasonable alternative to the private use of automobiles, and

WHEREAS, The constant escalation in fares, and consequent reduction in service, compounds the spiral downward in the use of local mass transit facilities, and increases the costs of remaining services to the point where less than 25 percent of those traveling within our urban areas travel by mass transit, and

WHEREAS, Over 80 percent of local mass transit vehicles in America are today publicly owned, and

WHEREAS, A convenient, economical, safe and comprehensive transit system appears to be the most effective way to bring about immediate solutions to many of our most pressing urban problems, and

WHEREAS, We share the view of Secretary of Transportation John Volpe, that "public transit is so important that we must look at its financing much like any other public service, and

WHEREAS, Our only chance for low fares and adequate service is to replace private transit with public transportation by and on behalf of the whole people, as Secretary Volpe has said, not that public transportation is the single complete answer, but because public ownership by its very nature needs not to be concerned about the profit and loss statement, and

WHEREAS, Only a government or publicly owned mass transit system, concerned with a far different set of values, a far different group of assets and liabilities, can convert into assets the intangibles of coordinating the ghetto worker with the suburban job—of greater availability of recreation centers—of reducing welfare costs—of making available to industry a far wider and greater labor supply, and—of providing all people with a reasonable and practical alternative to the use of private autos for urban transit needs, thus leading to stability and increased property values and bigger tax bases, and

WHEREAS, It is because a publicly owned transit system can concern itself with people rather than profit, that it can go a long way towards tearing down ghetto walls surrounding the depressed and the deprived, permitting them to become self-sufficient, concerned citizens of our cities, and

WHEREAS, We recognize that publicly owned transportation alone is not enough. Unless we can keep fares down, transit will continue to decline under public ownership and operation, so long as the community relies solely upon the fare box to provide needed transit services. Fare box revenues, whatever the level, will never be sufficient to meet the true transit needs of the community, and

WHEREAS, The recurring pattern has been that transportation services will be cut back year by year while the ridership on the remaining service declines and fares increase. In this vicious cycle, which we contend is totally contrary to the public interest, transit employes lose job opportunities and suffer worsening positions in their employment because adequate and needed transportation services are not furnished to the public, and

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Transit Union, and the Transport Workers Union AFL-CIO, have in the public interest, and in its own memberships' interest, long recognized its responsibility in this area by conducting a reasoned, documented, national effort to enlist the aid of the public and the government in reducing fares to the point of zero fare or fare-free, thus putting mass transit on a par with other public services such as libraries, parks, police, fire departments, schools, roads, indeed any other municipal service of like nature, none of which require the imposition of a user charge, and

WHEREAS, Public ownership has become the dominant method of local mass transit operations, and care must be taken to insure against loss of citizenship rights of transit employes by reason of application of the federal Hatch Act and similar federal, state and local restriction on employe rights; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations shall take all appropriate action to support and seek legislation providing financial assistance to mass transit on the local, state and federal levels, from general tax funds in amounts not only to be sufficient to hold the fares down at their present levels, but in fact, to reduce or to eliminate them to the point of zero or fare-free, provided that any such legislation shall contain adequate arrangements for the protection of employe interests, such as those specified in Sec. 3(e) and 13(c) of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, and by exemption from provisions of the Hatch Act, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations urges and supports the prompt acquisition of all private transit companies by public bodies, provided that adequate employe protections, such as those specified in Sec. 3(e) and 13(c) of the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, and containing exemption from provisions of the Hatch Act, are also included, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations urges the Department of Transportation to undertake a Demonstration Project to determine the feasibility of, and suitable financing for, a permanent system of no-fare operation of local transit which shall include the testing of one or more such no-fare systems and financing mechanisms in a metropolitan area or areas of the Nation, and be it further

RESOLVED: That officers and appropriate committees are hereby instructed to carry out the purposes of this resolution and to coordinate such action with other likeminded public

interest groups, and to distribute copies of this resolution to appropriate public bodies and officials and the communications media.

Consumer Protection

The AFL-CIO calls for a broad program of consumer legislation which will protect the interest of workers and their families when they buy products for family and household use.

Safety—To safeguard individuals from harm or injury caused by consumer products, we call for a new comprehensive Consumer Product Safety Act for household appliances and improvement of existing safety legislation on specific consumer products such as automobiles, fabrics, drugs, cosmetics, medical devices, and household chemicals. We again stress the need for a Wholesome Fish and Fishery Products Act, with strict inspection requirements.

Credit—We support legislation and administrative actions to eliminate excessive or unfair finance and insurance charges for consumer credit, to expand and protect the full rights of borrowers in credit contracts, and to limit or abolish abusive creditor techniques for collection of debts.

Insurance—We call for federal enactment of comprehensive auto insurance reform legislation incorporating the "no-fault" principle for compensation, encouragement of group coverage, and provisions to reduce the costs of auto repair.

Warranties—We endorse legislation to remedy the problem of meaningless and ineffective warranties on consumer products and to induce manufacturers to honor their warranties in full.

Labeling and Advertising—We support legislative proposals to compel informative labeling for consumer products including ingredients, nutritional values, expiration dates, and durability. To aid price comparisons, we endorse pricing in terms of price per unit of quantity for packaged products and more extensive use of government product grading programs. We condemn false and misleading advertising and support proposals that would require proof of advertising claims.

Legal Enforcement and Remedies—We support enlarged powers for such agencies as the Federal Trade Commission to act in behalf of consumers both in the prevention and redress of fraud, deception and unfair practices. To enable the consumer to act more effectively in his own behalf, we endorse consumer class action legislation, enabling cheated consumers to sue in the courts as a group.

Consumer Representation—We call for prompt action on legislation to establish a federal Consumer Protection Agency to represent and act in behalf of consumer interests.

Assurance of the Purity of Foods

WHEREAS, Day after day new problems concerning the purity and safety of foods are unfolded before the American consumer. One report of new findings after another strike terror in the hearts of homemakers, and

WHEREAS, For example, tens of thousands of chickens and eggs are found to have been contaminated with a probably dangerous chemical. Death-causing botulism is found in the soups of two well-known companies. The U. S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) demonstrates that the U. S. Department of Agriculture lied when it denied finding traces of cancer-causing hormone in slaughtered cattle. The FDA finds that the same compound which contaminated chickens has fouled other foods packed in recycled cardboard containers, but it will not reveal what foods. Scientists discover mercury, cadmium and other dangerous substances in fish. And half of the meat inspectors in Boston are indicted for bribery, and

WHEREAS, Despite the efforts of organized labor to provide strong consumer protection in new meat and poultry inspection legislation, these programs are in deep crisis. The laws are satisfactory, but their administration and enforcement by the Nixon Administration has been shocking. Efforts to favor industry, weakening of consumer protection to aid state bureaucracies, cutbacks in protection because of the unwillingness to spend federal money, refusal to permit any participation by consumers in the inspection program and lack of candor about existing difficulties are only a few of the problems which have taken a dreadful toll in the integrity of the inspection, and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Food and Drug Administration has been ineffective in safeguarding the health of the nation for years. Actions by the Nixon Administration to aid its corporate political partners have brought the FDA to still greater losses of morale and still greater inability to perform its consumer-protective jobs. The agency is now shell-shocked from its many failures, unable to say "no" to industry pressures, and impoverished in funds and manpower, and

WHEREAS, The crisis in consumer protection comes at the worst possible time, for new chemical compounds and new technologies pose ever more questions to the health and safety of consumers. Tough, honest and quick analyses of the effect of new hormones, additives, and chemicals are more necessary than ever before. Professional judgments to erase consumer hazards quickly rather than toadying apologies for offending industries are absolutely essential, and

WHEREAS, For many foods there is virtually no inspection whatsoever. The American consumer has been denied much-

needed fish inspection for years because the Nixon Administration has stalemated strong and effective legislation. The Bon Vivant soup debacle revealed that the Food and Drug Administration had not checked the firm for many years, and

WHEREAS, A new and effective approach to assure the purity of the nation's foods is needed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the Ninth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO condemns the Nixon Administration for its politicking with consumer health, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO call for the enactment of new food inspection legislation by Congress, that this new legislation should be enforced by a separate agency whose sole purpose is the protection of consumers, and that all existing food protection functions such as meat, poultry, and egg inspection, as well as the food responsibilities of the FDA, should be integrated into the new agency, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the new inspection legislation cover fish and all other foods which currently undergo only a comparatively meaningless check once every few years by the FDA.

Women Workers

The labor movement seeks to be increasingly responsive to the needs and wishes of its women members, within the context of overall trade union objectives. These include economic security for all workers, the extension of minimum wage and other labor standards legislation, provision of day care centers, maternity leave and benefits, access to education and training, equal pay for equal work, and elimination of discriminatory employment practices based on sex.

The AFL-CIO affirms its commitment to non-discrimination on the basis of sex. We seek to honor this commitment in collective bargaining agreements, in the conduct of union affairs, and in legislative enactments.

We continue opposition to the so-called equal rights amendment as an unnecessary addition to the Constitution, ultimately more harmful than helpful to the legal rights of women.

Civil Rights

The AFL-CIO Executive Council recommends that the convention strongly reaffirm its conviction that the struggle to completely eliminate discrimination from all aspects of American life must be pressed to its conclusion.

While most of the necessary legislation has already been passed, the Williams bill to give cease and desist powers to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is an important addition. We pledge our support to its passage.

We also pledge to continue our efforts to bring about full compliance with the goals of the 1964, 1965 and 1967 Civil Rights Acts. We urge that implementation of the legislation be vigorous but caution that it must be also intelligent. Misapplication of the intentions of the legislation, substitutes of quotas and numbers games for sound affirmative programs, can do a good deal of damage not only to unions but to minority workers themselves.

The AFL-CIO urges all its affiliates to develop sound, affirmative action and manpower programs for expanding the opportunities and upward mobility prospects for minority workers in addition to insuring nondiscrimination procedures and policies. We particularly urge international unions, central bodies and local unions to utilize the services of the Human Resources Development Institute in developing manpower programs in all industries which will help prepare unemployed workers, especially hard core unemployed, for jobs and also help them to develop the necessary qualifications for a promotion to better jobs once employed.

However, equal opportunity and the best affirmative action and manpower programs function effectively only when there are jobs available. The full employment goal is a prime necessity for the continuation of minority group progress; for narrowing the gap between black and white; for bringing all of our citizens into the mainstream of American life and for integrating all American institutions.

The solution of our racial problems to a large degree requires solving the economic and social problems of all Americans. Well paid and steady jobs, adequate education and decent housing are the foundation stones of a healthy and integrated society. The means of achieving this is the ballot box. The mobilization of a progressive majority which could elect a President and a Congress that will make the policies and enact the legislation necessary for achieving these things is crucial.

That is why the AFL-CIO calls on all of its affiliated international unions and their locals to support the A. Philip Randolph Institute and especially its voter registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns. These campaigns will be carried on through the voluntary efforts of Negro trade union officers and members throughout the country. Similar campaigns with Spanish-speaking and Spanish-surname trade unionists are also desirable and important, AFL-CIO COPE is already supporting such efforts.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

WHEREAS, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was an outstanding leader who in living his conviction carved on the the conscience of America for all time to come, the meaning of "liberty and justice for all," and

WHEREAS, In lending his support to the concept of Trade Unionism and justice in the bitter struggle for human dignity in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968, he paid the supreme price for his convictions, and

WHEREAS, The untimely death of Dr. King was a great loss to all Americans, robbing our nation of a leader of men, advocate of brotherhood and understanding and fighter for equality and justice, and

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO is dedicated to the position to which Dr. King devoted his life, that all Americans of every race, color and background can live and work together in dignity and peace; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO pledges to continue its efforts to bring about the day when the dream of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. for dignity, justice and peace for all shall be fully realized, and be it further

RESOLVED: That in honor of Dr. King and his outstanding place in our nation's history, the AFL-CIO calls upon the President and the Congress to enact federal legislation proclaiming Dr. King's birthday, January 15, a legal national holiday.

A. Philip Randolph Institute

WHEREAS, For several decades, A. Phillip Randolph has been a statesman of towering eminence in the representation of the aspirations and needs of the black people of America, and

WHEREAS, From his base as president of the relatively small Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Phil Randolph became a pioneer crusader, many years ago, for equality of treatment of people of all races. By combining great intelligence and infinite patience with determination and hard work he became one of America's most influential and persuasive spokesmen for racial justice, and

WHEREAS, To extend the good works of this man, there has been established the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, under the capable direction of Bayard Rustin. This institute seeks to promote minority rights and minority welfare in all phases of life with emphasis on strengthening the economic conditions of minority group members, and

WHEREAS, In a time when there are jarring conflicts between some of the militant groups and some of organized labor, the A. Phillip Randolph Institute persistently promotes the concept that for economic betterment all working people of all colors, nationalities and sexes must organize into labor unions. The A. Phillip Randolph Institute's program calls for bringing us together rather than placing us in opposition to one another; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO does heartily endorse the program of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, that it pledges its support and urges the moral and financial support of all affiliated unions to the work of the institute.

Gun Control

WHEREAS, In the past 10 years, 560 policemen have been killed in the line of duty, three-quarters of them by handguns. Nationwide, comparably the United States has more homicides than any country in the world, 52 percent caused by handguns, and

WHEREAS, The Gun Control Act of 1968 has had some effect in controlling the sale of guns not used for legitimate sports hunting, but it is weakened by several loopholes.

For example, it bans the importation of cheap handguns called "Saturday night specials" but does not prohibit importing their parts for assembly here. So instead of importing guns, a number of factories import the parts and asemble them in this country. Other factories are making these cheap handguns entirely, without depending on imported parts, and

WHEREAS, Another loophole is that although a buyer can't order a handgun from a dealer in another state, he can place his request with a dealer in his own state to order it for him, and

WHEREAS, As a result of these loopholes, there has been no slackening of the traffic in cheap handguns. It is estimated that there are 24 million of them in private hands, 2½ million more being added every year, and

WHEREAS, The supply of handguns continues to grow unhindered and corrective legislation has been stymied chiefly as a result of activities of one of the most potent lobbies in the country, that consisting of gun and ammunition manufacturers, allied with the defense establishment and centered around the National Rifle Association, and

WHEREAS, The NRA has been instrumental in defeating all

effective gun control legislation and even now is trying to have amendments passed to weaken what few restrictions do exist, and

WHEREAS, It is clear that stronger fire-arm control laws are absolutely necessary to reduce the astounding amount of gun violence in this country, and

WHEREAS, Not only does this nation's experience show that gun control laws can work, but records of other industrialized countries also prove that stringent control laws reduce homicides. Making it harder for anyone, honest people and criminal alike, to get hold of a handgun makes it more difficult for anyone to kill someone with a handgun, and

WHEREAS, That has been demonstrated by the record of two states which have more stringent laws (New York and Massachusetts) and a number of cities (Philadelphia, Louisville, Toledo, among others). But local gun control laws do not prevent someone from buying a gun in the next town. The answer has to be federal legislation, and

WHEREAS, Handgun control will not limit the legitimate use of hunting rifles or shotguns, and poses no threat to the hundreds of Americans who use rifles or shotguns for sporting purposes. But handgun control does have a lot to do with crime control. Those who are concerned about law and order, including politicians of both major parties, should first of all support handgun regulation, which represents the most direct route to reducing violent crime, and

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding the NRA lobbying an overwhelming majority of Americans have indicated they would like to see handgun controls enacted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO agrees with this sensible majority and strongly urges Congress to enact strong handgun-control legislation.

Safety and Occupational Health

The record of the Nixon Administration thus far in putting this act into effect, must be drastically improved, or the goal of a safe and healthy workplace for American workers, will be needlessly delayed and frustrated.

It is quite clear that the Administration has adopted policies whereby the discretionary powers accorded the Secretary of Labor are being applied to delay implementation of standards, soften the impact of enforcement on employers, weaken the act's provisions setting forth the rights and protections for workers, and moving with unseemly haste to abandon federal responsi-

bilities to the various state governments. The secretary's selection of the most hazardous industries to be given first priority in enforcement, omits important segments which should be given equivalent consideration in such a target industry program.

There is little, if any, visible coordination between the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education and Welfare, in any field of mutual responsibility set forth in the act. Training programs for workers, thus far proposed, are unacceptable to the AFL-CIO.

Administratively, the loose decentralization of the regional offices of the Department of Labor, has already resulted in divergencies in interpretation of the act, and actions taken at a field level with little or no requirements for reporting to the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Occupational Safety and Health.

The Secretary of HEW delayed the appointment of the director of the vitally important Institute for Occupational Safety and Health. He delayed also in placing the institute in a permanent place in his department's administrative structure, and designating a permanent location for its operation.

The Senate and House Labor subcommittees should hold oversight hearings to determine the extent to which the directives of Congress have been carried out by the federal agencies entrusted with such responsibilities under the act.

A major reason why implementation has been less than vigorous, is the inadequate budget requests of the Nixon Administration for both fiscal years 1971 and 1972. If the President's budget for fiscal year 1973 calls for the same diet, Congress should substantially increase appropriations, particularly in the fields of enforcement, standards, training and research.

The AFL-CIO has urged that there be at least 1,000 new enforcement personnel in the field by the end of fiscal year 1972. By the end of fiscal year 1973, this number should be more than doubled. In recruiting such enforcement officers, practical plant experience should be given equal weight to formal education.

The act should be amended to reorganize and unify all safety and occupational health functions now scattered among a large number of federal agencies and combined into a single agency within the Department of Labor.

The act should be amended, as organized labor has repeatedly urged, to require any state plan to demonstrate that its occupational safety and health programs are operated as parts of a single agency, and that before any state plan is accepted by the secretary, it should demonstrate for at least one year, that it provides the same protections to workers, equal enforcement, identical or equally strong standards, adequate skilled manpower, and financing, and coverage of all workers including state and local public employes.

The act should be amended to remove the discretionary power

now vested in the Secretary of Labor to give advance notice of inspections.

The section of the act dealing with interim standards should also be amended to require that all consensus and federal standards, adopted by the secretary, should be made effective no more than 30 days after entry in the Federal Register and should apply to all covered establishments.

The act should be amended to provide access by the authorized employe representative to the log of occupational injuries and illnesses, required to be maintained by the employer.

Programs must be expanded to train union safety committeemen to better identify and deal with work-site hazards, to impart their learning to their fellow workers and to use the protections of the act intelligently and forcefully. Research programs should be encouraged and supported into safety and health hazards requiring more knowledge of the latent effect on workers' health from chronic exposures to toxic materials and harmful physical agents, and needed changes in industrial design and industrial processes for prevention of deaths and accidents.

This act is designed to stop the killing, maiming and crippling illnesses that have beset the workplace and have brought tragedy and loss to millions of American workers since the dawn of the Industrial Age.

Our responsibilities are clear—to watch over the federal government's program so that it is not watered down, to seek strengthening amendments to the act, and to do our share at every work-site to make sure that no longer will any worker be forced to jeopardize his life or his health.

Illegal Immigrants

WHEREAS, America is proud of its historic role as a haven of liberty for the persecuted and the oppressed. Our country has grown great thanks to the spirit and the talents of immigrants from every part of the world, and

WHEREAS, Yet the opportunity for the United States to continue this policy of welcoming immigrants to our shores is threatened by the rising number of persons who illegally enter this country to work at substandard wages paid by exploiting employers. This intolerable process is robbing large numbers of American citizens and legal immigrants of their jobs, and it threatens an indirect undermining of fair wage levels in other industries. The U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service apprehended over 317,000 of these illegal immigrants in 1970, and it is estimated the total number of illegal immigrants may be as great as one million, and

WHEREAS, Because of their illegal status, these immigrants are easy subjects for blackmail, exploitation and intimidation

by unscrupulous employers, who can turn the illegal immigrants in to the authorities whenever they protest their sweatshop conditions. The heavy need of these illegal immigrants for free medical care, unemployment compensation, welfare and social services puts heavy burdens on government at every level and on the taxpayers of the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: AFL-CIO calls for the following program to correct this problem of illegal immigration:

1. Congress should authorize a study of illegal immigration, so that we may have greater access to the facts and may better determine the economic and social impact of exploitation of illegal immigrants by unscrupulous employers and their agents.

2. Congress should provide additional funds to give the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service more adequate staff to handle its many responsibilities, including more effective patrolling of our borders.

3. Steps should be taken by the involved government agencies —particularly the State Department and the Immigration Service of the Justice Department—to develop more effective procedures for excluding illegal immigrants and for enforcing existing laws and regulations more effectively.

4. Federal legislation should be adopted to provide criminal penalties for employers and their agents in industry, commerce and agriculture who knowingly and wilfully hire illegal immigrants, thus robbing legal immigrants and American citizens of employment opportunities at decent wages.

Bureau of Labor Statistics

WHEREAS, One of the better technical services provided by the U. S. Department of Labor has been the monthly Bureau of Labor Statistics compilation and interpretation of wage, price and employment figures, and

WHEREAS, Through succeeding national administrations, and with a high level of technical competence, the bureau and its staff has presented fairly and honestly basic data on which interested persons and organizations could rely. The bureau has built up a high public regard for its abilities, its nonpartisanship, and its unswerving dedication to integrity, and

WHEREAS, Now, the Nixon Administration, with cool political expedience in mind, proposes to destroy and discredit this activity, to turn it into a self-serving propaganda agency for the Administration, and to end its usefulness to the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO condemns and opposes the effort to destroy the credibility of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and demands its retention as an honest and fair public service.

We further declare that this attempt on the part of the Nixon Administration to hoodwink and propagandize the American public can result only in erasing the future credibility of both the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the administration.

Housing

Two years ago the AFL-CIO declared: "There is a shocking failure in this country of great material wealth to provide safe, decent, sanitary housing in neighborhoods open to all and available at prices people can afford to pay."

Little has happened in the intervening time to change that statement. If anything, the situation is worse today because of a failure to take corrective action during the two year period.

The last six months have shown some improvement in the annual rate of housing starts as funds not being used for commercial and industrial expansion shifted into housing. However, the current rate of 2 million units is still considerably short of the 2.6 million annual construction rate goal established by the Housing Act of 1968.

During 1969 and 1970, housing starts were at an annual rate of 1.45 million units, including 770,000 mobile homes. The rate for those two years meant America fell woefully short of meeting the shelter needs of her citizens.

The importance of housing cannot be minimized, both as shelter and as a means of employment. The housing commitment in both the public and private sector must be bolstered if there is to be improvement in the overall economic health of this country. To this end, there should be far more funds and far more emphasis placed on directing job-producing federal funds into housing and community development. These programs reap double benefits: jobs and community well-being.

Therefore we recommend that the national housing goal be reaffirmed at 2.6 million units a year, the goal of the 1968 law. This is necessitated by the failure of the Nixon Administration to pursue programs that would have attained the 2.6 million unit goal. We believe that a minimum of 1 million units a year should be constructed for low- and moderate-income families.

Attainment of this general goal requires many specific actions in the areas of legislation, appropriations, interest rates and land costs, and fair housing.

The establishment of metropolitan housing authorities would represent a community-wide approach to a community-wide problem. At present, low- and moderate-income housing is dependent upon a delivery system which cannot fulfill the nation's housing

needs. In addition to local housing authorities and non-profit groups and individual builders, an initiative body is needed. This body should be metropolitan in nature and provided with the tools to carry out a metropolitan program.

Consolidation of major development programs into a single community development concept would enhance the metropolitan concept. Consolidated grant funds could be used for urban renewal, rehabilitation loans and grants, demolition codes, open space, urban beautification, historical preservation, water and sewer, neighborhood facilities, advance acquisition of space and model cities supplemental grants.

The AFL-CIO has supported an urban development bank. It is a vital adjunct to a sound housing policy. A federally-funded Urbank should be able to provide long term loans to non-profit quasi-governmental organizations receiving federal funds and pursuing the public policy in housing and related areas.

However we must recognize that all the legislation in the world is not going to do the job if the Executive Branch is not committed to implementing those laws. The pattern established by the Nixon Administration is long on rhetoric and short on performance, particularly in the housing field. Administration budget requests for housing and related urban programs are grossly inadequate.

The statistics are clear: the cost of financing for FHA homes has risen 356 percent in the past 20 years while land costs have gone up 296 percent. A national housing policy geared to meeting the needs of all Americans cannot tolerate a continuation of these inflationary pressures on the cost of shelter.

The FHA-VA allowable interest rate must be reduced immediately and the policy of charging discounts to the consumer should be ended.

It must not be government policy to encourage land speculation. Increasing land costs have contributed to the nation's failure to meet its housing needs. Therefore we recommend a national land policy to assure the availability of enough land, at reasonable cost, to achieve housing goals. Closing of the capital gains loophole is another step which should be taken to discourage speculation.

The goal of decent, safe, sanitary housing for all requires a firm government commitment to enforce the Fair Housing Act of 1968. Such a commitment is lacking from the present Administration. It has failed to provide national leadership on this issue; instead it has resorted to ambiguity and equivocation.

We insist that affirmative government action be taken to overcome segregation in housing on the basis of race, creed, color, religion or economic status.

AFL-CIO Mortgage Investment Trust

In the past two years the AFL-CIO Mortgage Investment Trust has grown from $6.7 million in participants' investment on July 1, 1969 to $24.6 million on July 1, 1971. In that same period the yield to new participants for the six months ending June 30, 1969 has moved from 5.8 percent up to 8.2 percent for the six months ending June 30, 1971.

Every recent calendar quarter has seen the growth in new participations, and with the quarter beginning July 1, 1971, the trust reached the record growth rate of $4.65 million for the three month period. Participants, represented by both labor and management trustees, have selected the MIT because it provides an investment plan with an unusual number of advantages for union treasuries and for labor-management pension and welfare funds. Under the trust's SEC prospectus, all long term investments must be in high security loans for federally insured or guaranteed construction financing or permanent mortgages, with a restricted list of highly secure short term investments, higher yielding insured construction loans and carefully selected permanent mortgage loans. Loans are made only to sponsors or developers of AFL-CIO union built projects thereby creating additional union jobs through the investment of union monies. Participants have the privilege of earmarking their funds for projects in their areas if the investment is commensurate with the size of the requested project.

These are creative investments that add to the nation's inventory of housing, particularly to the provision of housing for low and moderate income families. All these benefits are available in an open ended trust that permits the participant to withdraw from the trust on 60 days written notice at the then current market price. The operations and procedures of the trust are fully set forth in the Trust's SEC Prospectus.

We recommend that:

1. All trustees and managers of union general treasury funds and of labor-management pension and welfare funds examine all available investment alternatives carefully considering the social benefits of each while bearing in mind the requirements of security, liquidity and reasonable yield. This recommendation is made while acknowledging that many corporate trustees, investment counselors, and fund managers will need active encouragement to consider investment opportunities which remove funds from their control and which may depart from their traditional orientation to and preference for the more speculative, commission producing, and customary common stock portfolio.

2. That up to 30 percent of the reserves of union general

treasury and union pension funds be voluntarily invested in federally insured or guaranteed mortgages and construction loans.

3. That all international unions and state and local central bodies participate to the greatest extent feasible in the AFL-CIO Mortgage Investment Trust, and that all international unions cooperate in placing information about the trust before their affiliated locals and before the trustees of the various pension funds.

4. Federal, state and local governments explore new financing methods utilizing both public and private investment to bring new resources to bear on high priority urban needs, as for example, a federal Urban Bank. Other areas recommended for exploration include insured loans and subsidized interest rates for non-profit pension funds for specific activities such as transit systems and community development projects, excluding industrial development parks.

Investigation of Economic and Financial Concentration

WHEREAS, The greatest wave of business mergers during the past decade has resulted in the concentration of economic wealth and power in a narrowing group of major corporations and banks, and

WHEREAS, The anti-trust laws and regulations of the United States have proven ineffective in the face of mergers and giant conglomerates, and

WHEREAS, These huge corporations, and banks have developed intricate operations and relationships internationally, as well as domestically, and

WHEREAS, Little information is now available on the ownership, management and direction of these enterprises and their impacts on the structure of the American economy, and

WHEREAS, These mergers create a degree of centralized private decision making that is not effectively controlled by either governmental or market forces, and

WHEREAS, Free collective bargaining and democratic unionism are threatened by the increased economic power of absentee management of far-flung and varied operations of giant conglomerates, and

WHEREAS, United States Senator Lee Metcalf of Montana has introduced a resolution, S. Res. 113, to establish a special Senate Committee to investigate Economic and Financial Concentration which would investigate the interlocking relationships between these corporations and banks, their control of key parts of America's economy, and their impact on free democratic institutions such as collective bargaining; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO endorses the aims and purposes of S. Res. 113 and urges the Senate of the United States to adopt the resolution and begin this important investigation immediately, and be it further

RESOLVED: That this AFL-CIO Convention commends Senator Metcalf for his leadership in this important economic fight and directs that certified copies of this resolution be transmitted to Senators Metcalf and Mansfield.

EDUCATION

Education

The Executive Council recommends that education from pre-kindergarten education, through elementary, secondary and higher education, to programs of adult education available throughout life be given high funding priorities, especially at the state and federal levels.

We recommend the full funding of existing federal programs in education and we recommend expansion of these programs to bring federal support for education up to the level of one-third of the nation's total educational expenditure.

We recommend that existing federal programs in higher education be enlarged to include direct operating grants to institutions of higher education.

We recommend the development of carefully designed programs of public support for non-public schools, but we emphatically reject the Administration's proposals for voucher plans and educational performance contracting.

We recommend rejection of the Administration's proposal for educational block grants as one which would dissipate the effect of federal financial support.

We further recommend renewed local, state and federal effort not simply to end de jure school segregation, but to ensure that the schools will be meeting places for children of all races, ethnic backgrounds, and economic backgrounds.

We recommend a concerted national effort to wipe out functional illiteracy, not by slogans, but by the commitment of the resources and manpower necessary to achieve this goal.

We strongly urge all unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO to make full and continuing use of the AFL-CIO Labor Studies Center and its facilities. We urge the establishment of scholarship programs in each AFL-CIO affiliate to facilitate the broadest possible participation in the center's program.

Finally, we call for complete and full implementation of the AFL-CIO constitutional mandate for each affiliate to promote the widest possible understanding of the aims of the Federation among its officers and members—calling upon the Department of Education to assist where necessary.

Vocational Education

WHEREAS, The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare has held Regional Conferences on Vocational Education during the 1970-71 academic year to determine whether the career

education needs of youth and adults are being met by schools in their communities, and

WHEREAS, Vocational-technical education has been, and still is, a second-level concern of contemporary American educational planning, and

WHEREAS, This nation is dependent upon its technology and industry to maintain a position of pre-eminence in world affairs and world markets, and

WHEREAS, A complete vocational-technical education encompasses all that is good and relevant in the best "general education" curriculum plus occupational skills and knowledge that are saleable in the career market place, and

WHEREAS, Since eight out of ten high school students do not finish college, more than half of our high school students are being offered what amounts to an irrelevant general education that is not marketable; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO seeks to redirect education in the 1970's to prepare every person leaving school at the completion of grade twelve for immediate employment; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organization Convention supports all efforts to obtain full funding and appropriations for such vocational programs authorized by the United States Congress.

Education About Unions

WHEREAS, Historically labor was instrumental in creating and has consistently supported the public education systems of this nation. Yet, the public school systems have shunned the labor community and have kept themselves apart and separate from labor. Educators have no or only sparse practical or theoretical knowledge of labor though they have completed the teacher training process of the universities. Textbooks and other curriculum materials giving an objective view of labor, its history, practices, goals, accomplishments, etc. are all but nonexistent. This situation prevails because the Chamber of Commerce, the Manufacturers Association, and other anti-labor groups have consistently involved themselves in control of the educational system and the class curriculum. Consequently, the young people, the students of this nation are being denied exposure and instruction concerning a vital force of our economic, political, and social history, labor. Such being the status, and

WHEREAS, The National AFL-CIO has pinpointed bias in the school as one of the ten major problems facing labor in reaching the new members, and

WHEREAS, The teacher training process of universities does not include any practical or theoretical knowledge of labor, and

WHEREAS, The educational school systems have not supplemented educators' knowledge with orientation in labor but has kept themselves separate and apart from the labor community, and

WHEREAS, The curriculums developed for our educational systems (K-12) exclude the subject of labor, and

WHEREAS, The textbooks and other curriculum and educational materials and literature now available rarely present labor in objective prospective, and

WHEREAS, We find mention of labor in any of the educational materials sparse or non-existence, and

WHEREAS, We are reaping the harvest of exclusion from the educational process in the body of our young, new trade unionists whom we find either anti-labor or, at the least, apathetic and disinterested in labor's efforts and causes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: 1. The National AFL-CIO sponsor an Educational Conference comprised of all of the educational departments of all international unions. Friendly professional educators should be invited to participate. State and central bodies should also be participants.

2. The scope of the problem should be discussed in depth and a realistic program of action should be adopted that could be implemented on a local basis in every area throughout the nation and that would encompass:

A. Materials for a total labor curriculum to be developed that will be incorporated into textbooks;

B. Along with the curriculum materials, a total teacher orientation program designed to prepare teachers to give instructions concerning labor;

C. The establishment of labor courses at the secondary school level and the encouragement of labor courses at the college and university level.

D. Communications sent to all boards of education in the nation informing them of our program and our objectives in regard to total labor education.

National Partnership in Education Act

WHEREAS, The cost of educating elementary and secondary school children has not escaped the inflationary conditions in our

nation and is increasing about 10 per cent a year, and

WHEREAS, Budget deficits, teacher layoffs, and reduced services are the rule, rather than the exception, in practically every school district in the United States, and

WHEREAS, In increasing numbers major public school systems such as Chicago, Illinois; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Gary, Indiana; Detroit, Michigan; Dayton, Ohio and many others are closing or are in imminent danger of closing their schools for weeks and months because of the exhaustion of local and state tax resources, and

WHEREAS, Such crises have heretofore primarily been state and local matters with the property tax being the prime base for raising money for education, and whereas the increasing mobility of school students from one district to another has enlarged the federal responsibility and made these crises a federal concern, and

WHEREAS, The United States, which likes to pride itself on its support of education, actually is spending from all sources and from all levels of government only slightly more than 6 percent of its national income on education in contrast to Canada's 9.6 percent, Israel's 9.2 percent, Denmark's 8.1 percent, Sweden's 7.9 percent, Netherland's 7.6 percent, and the USSR's 7.1 percent, and

WHEREAS, Of the total amount which the United States is spending on education, a disproportionate share is going for higher education, with, for example, more than $2,100 being spent last year on every college student and only $700 on every elementary and secondary school student, and

WHEREAS, Equally important to inadequate funding of elementary and secondary schools is the correction of the maldistribution of our resources whereby local, state and federal expenditures are heavily weighted in favor of the wealthier school districts an dthus depriving the children in poor and middle class communities of educations comparable to those received by children in wealthier districts, and

WHEREAS, Legislation has been introduced into the Congress of the United States by Congressman Roman Pucinski (D.-Ill.) entitled the National Partnership in Education Act (HR 6179) and by Congressman Carl Perkins (D.-Ky.) entitled the Educational Excellent Act (HR 981) in which the federal government would increase its support for elementary and secondary education and would provide more equal educational opportunities for every elementary and secondary school pupil; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO work diligently for passage of legislation embodying the goals of these two bills.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYES PROGRAMS

Program of Legislation and Administrative Relief for Government Employes

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations has always played a vital and indispensable role in helping its affiliated organizations of federal workers achieve their legitimate economic and social goals, and

WHEREAS, The federal government should be an ideal employer, and should set an example for the nation by providing wages and working conditions at least equal to those prevailing in the private sector for workers of similar skills, training and education, and

WHEREAS, The federal government has lagged far behind private industry in the areas of wages and working conditions, and the resulting gap can be filled only by progressive and constructive legislation and administrative actions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the Ninth Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations assembled in Miami Beach, Florida, commencing November 18, 1971, does hereby adopt the following program of legislation and administrative relief for government employes:

Union-Management Relations in the Federal Government

The most dramatic event in this field in more than a century was the introduction of the principle of collective bargaining as a matter of federal government policy under Executive Order 10988 of January 17, 1962. Despite this proclamation, for almost a decade, unions of federal workers have encountered stubborn resistance on the part of numerous management officials to the unions' legitimate attempts to make that policy fully operational.

Notwithstanding subsequent issuance of Executive Orders 11491 and 11616 on the same subject, the basic problems with respect to the functions of unions in the program and its administration remain unresolved.

Among the serious deficiencies in the existing system are lack of binding arbitration of negotiation impasses, absence of an impartial board with union representation to administer the program and restrictions on the scope of bargaining. Negotiated agreements, not in conflict with law, should supersede agency regulations. Arbitrary exclusion of groups of employes should be discontinued. In short, it should confer rights similar to those

available to private industry. All those employed in the federal government including nonappropriated fund activities, the Government Printing Office, and other employes of the legislative branch should be afforded these rights also.

Based on the experience of unions representing federal workers under this policy, it is vital that we seek enactment of legislation as a matter of priority to remedy these defects.

Particularly limiting to good labor-management relations is the current prohibition against any form of union security. While most private industry contracts contain provisions requiring all covered workers, who benefit from the contract, to join the union; such provisions are currently prohibited in contracts negotiated under Executive Orders 1149 and 11616 as well as under the Postal Reorganization Act. These public employe unions should be permitted to negotiate union security agreements under the Executive Order and the law.

Pay

(a) Classified and wage board employes of the federal government are bearing an unjust share of the economic burden imposed on American workers under President Nixon's wage-price freeze policy. His decision to postpone for six months pay adjustments already overdue subjects federal employes to discriminatory treatment in the current economic crisis. We object strenuously to this action, and call for immediate steps by the President and Congress to guarantee these employes equal consideration with all other segments of our society in the struggle for economic recovery—no more and no less.

(b) The 1962 comparability law providing pay adjustments for Federal workers whose compensation is fixed by law was confirmed by Congress in 1967 and 1969. The system has not achieved its objectives.

Employes involved are not receiving current rates comparable to salary movements in private industry. The Federal Pay Council designated by Congress to represent the views of employes in determining appropriate pay levels has not been permitted to fulfill its prescribed role. After nearly a year of the current law's operation, the Pay Review Committee of non-Government experts has not been appointed.

The hopes of federal employes for reducing the comparability salary gap in the near future were dashed when the House and Senate within a week refused to disapprove the President's freeze of the scheduled January 1, 1972, classified pay increase authorized by the 1970 Pay Comparability Act.

Steps should be taken immediately by the Executive Branch and Congress to correct these deficiencies and restore comparability. We further recommend that Congress revise the law to establish Federal salaries through collective bargaining.

(c) Creation of a board with equal union and management representation and an impartial nongovernment chairman at all levels to replace the present Federal Coordinated Wage System operated by the Civil Service Commission for wage board employes. This revision must be adopted to insure hourly rates truly consistent with those prevailing in private industry on a current basis.

(d) Legislation for premium compensation at time and one-half for work in excess of 8 hours per day and on Saturday, double time for Sundays and holidays, and two and one-half times the regular rate of pay for work on Christmas Day, for all federal employes. A basic workweek extending from Monday through Friday should be established for all federal workers. Night differential should be fixed at 20% of base pay. In computing a particular type of premium compensation, all other kinds of applicable additional pay should be included.

(e) Legislation fixing a 35-hour workweek for government employes without reduction in pay.

Retirement

(a) Voluntary retirement after 20 years of service, regardless of age, with full benefits, or with age and years of service totalling 80.

(b) Oppose merger of Social Security and Civil Service retirement systems.

(c) Increase from 55 to 60% the surviving beneficiary's share of the employe's pension. Eliminate the reduction in an employe's annuity when he elects benefits for his survivor.

(d) Retirement deductions on all earnings, including overtime, night differential, special allowances and other premium pay, for groups of non-postal employes who work under these conditions throughout their careers.

(e) Increase the general formula for computing annuities to 2½%.

(f) In case of hazardous occupations, the formula should be adjusted to 3 percent, with coverage extended to additional jobs, such as firefighters, employes of neuropsychiatric hospitals who deal with patients and other types of hazardous occupations.

(g) For spouses who elect an annuity for survivors, the annuitant's full pension should be restored upon the death of the survivor annuitant.

(h) The minimum annuity available to employes retiring for disability should be increased substantially.

(i) The Department of Defense should contribute to the Retirement Fund amounts covering military service of those who become civilian federal employes.

(j) Legislation permitting federal employes to receive full cash payment or retirement credit for all sick leave unused at the time of retirement, death or separation.

(k) Retirement credit for separated employes during periods of entitlement to compensation for injury.

(l) Existing retirement benefits, particularly for low-income annuitants should be increased substantially.

Promotions

Application of impartial promotion procedures with recognition of seniority, merit and "promotion from within" as the guiding principles.

Leave

(a) Lump-sum payment for annual leave in excess of statutory ceilings accumulated during the year by an employe who retires or resigns.

(b) Employes prevented from using annual leave because of conditions beyond their control should have these days added to their normal accumulation.

(c) Federal employes elected or selected as full time union representatives should be granted leave of absenc with protection of all benefits, which they would have received had they remained in federal service.

Political Activities

The Hatch Act should be revised. Federal employes must be assured maximum freedom to exercise their political rights and responsibilities as citizens. At the same time, preservation of the impartiality of the federal government's service to its citizens requires that appointment, promotion and retention of federal workers be free from political considerations.

Constitutional Rights

Continuing investigations by Congress have revealed serious invasions of the privacy and other Constitutional rights of federal employes. Congress should complete action on legislation to eliminate further transgressions.

Classification

Union involvement in the federal government's review of its job evaluation and pay systems has proved frustrating and unproductive. Unions representing the employes affected have been unable to make an effective contribution to the study. The principles presented by the Task Force to date will expose workers to fragmentation of existing classification structures and threaten depression of salary scales. No plan for adequate union participation in the programs finally enacted has been offered. Congress should make certain that passage of legislation on the subjects remedies the deficiencies noted above.

Automation

(a) Technological changes in federal work methods should recognize the special needs of senior employes, provide training and placement opportunities, and enhance the promotion possibilities of individual workers affected.

(b) Oppose "speed-up" programs in the Postal Service and throughout Government Service, Work Performance Schedules, Basic Motion and Time Studies and similar systems. Oppose the Government Printing Office practice requiring certain employes to meet time standards in setting type.

Compensation for Injury

Improvements are needed in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act. They include updating allowances, benefits to dependents, expansion of compensable injuries, and current payment of claims.

Health and Welfare

Legislation for the federal government to defray the entire cost of health benefits and life insurance programs for active and retired employes, with no reduction in benefits upon retirement.

Safety

Enactment of the Occupational Health and Safety Act and issuance of Executive Order 11612 offer a unique challenge to the federal government as an employer. It should engage in vigorous enforcement of measures to eradicate unsafe and unhealthful practices in federal agencies. Maximum opportunities should be afforded unions at all levels to participate in this mission.

Use of Military Personnel

Assignment of military personnel to work which can be performed by civilian employes is a pressing problem. This practice produces a wasteful expenditure of millions of dollars. Services and skills of military personnel can best be utilized in

functions directly related to military matters. We oppose continuation of this practice.

Postal Service

(a) Endorse restoration of curtailed postal service and improvement in postal operations to provide the most efficient service possible to the American people.

(b) In the interest of efficiency and economy, inter and intra city transportation of mail by trucks should be accomplished by postal employes and equipment.

(c) Since the American taxpayer is entitled to the best possible postal service, we oppose curtailment or reduction in the Special Delivery Service.

Insistance on Civil Service Procedures

Oppose authority of agency heads to separate employes without recourse to established Civil Service procedures and appeal rights. Oppose any effort to remove federal jobs from Civil Service coverage. Federal personnel regulations should be applied consistently to all employes and federal agencies.

Uniform Allowances

Increase uniform allowances, including cost of maintenance, to all employes in occupations now covered, and extend them to additional jobs including maintenance and mechanical employes of the United States Postal Service.

Travel Expenses

Increase the maximum per diem allowance to $35, with commensurate increases for postal workers in mobile units. Employes required to travel on official business outside the normal working hours should receive additional compensation at regular overtime rates.

Nonappropriated Fund Operations

Employes in nonappropriated fund activities should be accorded Civil Service status with all benefits accruing to career federal workers, including equitable pay.

Fire Service

(a) Oppose consolidation of the positions of firefighter and protective and law enforcement service and departure from the traditional pay equality between these protective services.

(b) Urge Federal and other public administrators to raise fire protection and safety standards with formation of fire inspection bureaus in communities as a means of achieving this objective through proper funding of the Fire Research and Safety Act.

(c) Reduction in the present 72-hour workweek of federal firefighters without impairing total annual pay is essential to meet practices prevailing in large, progressive municipalities.

(d) Legislation protecting firefighters at all political levels from illegal interference while engaged in the lawful performance of their duties during riots and civil distaurbances.

Right to Strike

WHEREAS, All public employes, federal, postal, state, county or municipal have historically suffered at the bargaining table from being denied the right to strike, which is accorded employes in the private sector, and

WHEREAS, All public employes, as a result of such discrimination, today suffer a widening disparity between their level of pay and fringe benefits from that enjoyed by organized workers in private employment, and

WHEREAS, There is no justification for the denial of the legal right to strike; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO work toward the repeal of such repressive laws and for passage of legislation guaranteeing the same strike rights for all public employes as those accorded workers in the private sector.

Public Employe Relations

WHEREAS, The rights to self organization and to bargain collectively through freely chosen representatives are rights to which all employes working in a free, democratic society are entitled. Yet, many public employers continue to deny these rights to their employes and refuse to accept the principle of collective bargaining. Such refusal prevents the resolution of public employment disputes and results in injury to the public, governmental agencies, and public employes. Despite the exigencies of the situation, the states have not acted to safeguard these rights, rights which must be guaranteed in order to achieve the peaceful resolution of labor disputes in public employment. Thus, if harmonious labor relations in the public sector are to be achieved, public employes must be guaranteed the right to self organization, to form, join and assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively over all matters concerning terms and conditions of employment through representatives of their own choosing and to engage in other concerted activity for their mutual aid and protection; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urge the United States

Congress and states and localities to enact legislation to guarantee public employes the rights of self organization and collective bargaining.

Application of Federal Standards to State and Local Government Employment

WHEREAS, Congress has afforded American workers in the private sector certain employment protections regarding minimum wage, overtime, civil rights, pensions, unemployment insurance, and health and safety standards. A glaring injustice is the denial of these same protections to American workers employed by state and local governments. Of the roughly 80 million civilian workforce in this country, some 10 million state and local government employes, or about 13 percent of the total workforce, lack protection, and

WHEREAS, There seems to be a general misconception that public employes do not need this federal coverage because public employes work under different conditions than their fellow workers in the private sector, and

WHEREAS, Another misconception plays a part in the exclusion of public employes from federal protective laws—that Congress is without power to protect workers in public employment. This is not true. The ability of Congress to assert jurisdiction for work standard purposes over public employment is now firmly established. The Supreme Court upheld the 1966 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act, covering selected groups of public employes, in its landmark Maryland v. Wirtz decision in 1968, and

WHEREAS, Because of these shibboleths, Congress has denied or severely limited public employes from coverage of the FLSA, Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Welfare and Pension Plan Disclosure Act, the Unemployment Insurance Act, Age Discrimination in Employment Act, and the Occupational Health and Safety Act.

Fair Labor Standards Act

The FLSA, in addition to broad coverage of private sector employes, now applies to over two million public hospital, school and related institution employes in regard to minimum wage, overtime and Equal Pay. The Act, however, still falls far short of the scope of minimum wage protection that this country should provide its low wage employes. It fails to give equal pay for equal work protection to the majority of women employed by states and political subdivisions. There are 2.6 million public sector employes who are not—but should be—covered. Their

need for coverage is evident. As of March 1970, approximately 305,000 of the 2.6 million potentially eligible state and local workers, or 11.8 percent, earned less than $2.00 per hour.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act

State, county and municipal employes are totally excluded from coverage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. Their exclusions are particularly significant since the U. S. Civil Rights Commission found state and local government employers not only engaging in flagrant discriminatory practices against minority-group individuals, but showing little interest in correcting the situation.

Welfare and Pension Fund Disclosure Act

Retirement plans in private industry must meet certain standards set by Internal Revenue Service Regulations and the Welfare and Pension Plan Disclosure Act. Public sector retirement plans have not been protected by either federal legislation or regulations. Indeed, state and local government plans contain many discriminatory provisions not allowable in private industry plans. Additionally, the current fiscal crisis in many governments has caused some administrators and legislators to look upon public retirement trusts as emergency sources for operating income.

In an attempt to remedy the situation, legislation should be enacted to safeguard the pension plans of state and local government employes.

Unemployment Insurance Law

Although workers in private industry have been covered by the unemployment insurance system for more than 30 years, the majority of state, county and municipal employes are excluded. Only 16 percent of state and local government employes will be covered by July 1, 1972. All other state, county and municipal employes—about 8 million—are covered for unemployment compensation only if the state law so permits, and if the jurisdiction so chooses. Unless required to do so by federal legislation, public employers have generally refused to exercise their option to cover their own employes. In this time of recession, public sector employes are being laid off, just as employes in private industry. But unlike their counterparts in industry, employes of state and local governments are usually not eligible for unemployment compensation benefits.

Age Discrimination in Employment Act

State, County and Municipal employes are excluded from coverage of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act. This act

was to protect particularly older workers against the widespread discrimination in their hiring, retention and promotion. Certainly the same standards should protect all public employes.

Occupational Safety and Health Act

New legislation provides for mandatory safety and health standards for private industry employes. The protection of American workers from job-related deaths, injuries and illnesses became a matter of national responsibility under the Occupational Safety and Health Act, effective April 28, 1971. Following the general pattern of federal protective legislation, state and local government employes are specifically exempted unless states set up their own programs. If states establish their own programs, the Act requires that such programs cover state and local government employes.

We can no longer tolerate this exclusion of public employees from federal protective legislation, no longer tolerate this callous treatment of employes whose work activity assures the smooth running of government operations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO deplores the exclusion of state and local government employes from coverage of federal protective legislation and supports passage of legislation to remedy the situation, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls upon Congress to:

Extend coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to employes of state and local governments.

Extend coverage of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to employes of state and local governments.

Enact legislation to protect the pension rights of all public employes.

Extend and make mandatory coverage of the unemployment insurance system to employes of state and local governments.

Extend coverage of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act to employes of state and local government.

Extend coverage of the Occupational Safety and Health Act to employes of state and local governments.

INFORMATION FILE
SWTSU

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

Organizing

The American concept of trade unionism still offers working men and women the most effective procedures for attaining economic stability for themselves and their families while contributing to the social progress and general welfare of the community.

The talent of workers in utilizing collective bargaining machinery to provide answers to their problems on the job, to give expression to their hopes and protection from their fears, defies measurement. The ever widening dimensions of collective bargaining as each additional group of American workers embraces unionism is proof of that.

Organizing today meets with great difficulties and challenges and the skill of the individual organizer must be of a higher order and the emphasis placed by unions on their organizing mission of greater intensity.

The need to eliminate organizational conflict and to promote organizational efficiency is necessarily more crucial. Every union needs to examine critically its organizing potential and challenge. They should review constantly the allocation of their resources to assure that their organizing program receives the necessary money, material and trained manpower.

In developing its organizing program every union should be aware that there are times when it is important to call on other unions for cooperation, to achieve an organizing goal. Each union must be quick to offer cooperation to other AFL-CIO unions when their organizing effort needs similar support. This is the rationale of federation.

All affiliated unions are again urged to take part in cooperative organizing programs initiated by AFL-CIO, whether on a territorial, industrial, company or work location basis.

National Labor Relations Act

The National Labor Relations Act was intended and still purports to protect the right of workers to join unions and bargain collectively. But its accomplishments toward achieving these objectives raise doubts as to the continued viability of the act and the labor board which administers it.

The plain, simple, brutal discriminatory discharges for union activity remain the commonest of all unfair labor practices.

Discriminatory discharges are not only the commonest of unfair labor practices, they are actually on the increase. In fiscal 1959 the number of charges filed against employers of discrimination on account of union activity was 6,775. For fiscal 1969 the figure was 8,122.

There are two reasons for this. One is that many employers, such as J. P. Stevens, simply have no shred of decency in their dealing with their employes. The other is that the act, as administered by the board and the courts, has in many cases become virtually useless.

The provisions of the act requiring employers to recognize and bargain collectively, if a majority of the employes so choose, are likewise being stultified on a massive scale, as far as board and court enforcement of the act are concerned. During fiscal 1969, a total of 3,967 charges of employer refusal to bargain were filed with the board, while the figure for 1959 was 1,311.

It is thus evident that the labor act is substantially failing of its purposes as far as workers and unions are concerned.

In marked contrast to this failure of the act to protect the basic rights of workers and unions, the provisions banning certain types of union conduct are enforced promptly and effectively. For the act calls for mandatory injunctions, in advance of any NLRB hearing, against many types of union unfair labor practices, with no comparable provision for summary and effective relief against any employer unfair labor practice of whatever nature or consequence. Those union unfair labor practices which are most harmful to employers are subject to mandatory injunctions; i.e., secondary boycotts, jurisdictional strikes, hot cargo clauses, recognitional and organizational picketing. All these are immediately enjoinable prior to the decision on the merits. On the other hand, no such mandatory remedy is available to unions or employees for such common and massive employer violations as discriminatory discharges and refusals to bargain.

In short, the National Labor Relations Act should be drastically rewritten, and its administration by the board substantially changed, to make it effectively enforceable against employers and fair as between employers and unions. The following minimum changes are urgently needed:

1—The mandatory injunction provisions of the act and the provision for employer suits for damages against unions for unfair labor practices should be repealed. The provisions for discretionary injunctions in advance of board hearings should be employed much more extensively against employers, to protect the basic rights of workers to organize and bargain collectively. It should be board policy that whenever a complaint issues charging a discriminatory discharge, a preliminary injunction will automatically be sought to secure reinstatement pending further proceeding. That will enable victimized employes to earn a

living pending long drawn-out legal proceedings; and will make it more difficult for employers to break unions by discharging their key adherents. The board should likewise automatically seek a preliminary injunction whenever an employer refuses to bargaining following certification of a union.

2—More effective remedies should be made available to the board. It should have power to disqualify from federal government contracts or orders employers who deliberately and repeatedly violate the act. The board should, moreover, be empowered to assess double or triple damages against employers in flagrant discriminatory discharge cases. When an employer illegally refuses to bargain with a union both the employes and the union should be made whole for losses sustained from the illegal refusal. In short, the act should be amended to take the profit out of unfair labor practices.

3—Unfair labor practice cases are subject to interminable delays, and there is still some unnecessary delay in representation proceedings. The best way to expedite the handling of unfair labor practice cases is by reducing the case load, and the more effective remedies advocated would do that. In addition, trial examiner decisions should be made final, subject to discretionary review by the board, and board (or trial examiner) decisions should automatically become legally effective unless a respondent seeks review within a specified time. Representation proceedings can and should be expedited by restoring the authority of the NLRB to conduct pre-hearing elections.

4—Section 14(b) should be repealed.

5—Fair enforcement of the act calls for impartial board members and general counsel, not employer lawyers who serve a brief stint to augment their law practice. We deplore the tendency shown by Republican Presidents, including the present incumbent, to stock the board with employer lawyers. Congress should, as a safeguard, bar former board members or general counsels from practicing before the board for a period of five years.

6—Labor's rights of economic self-help and mutual assistance are unfairly restrained by amendments added to the labor act by Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin. Unwarranted restrictions on legitimate union activity should be eliminated.

7—Some categories of employes who most need union organization and collective bargaining, such as farm workers, employes or non-profit hospitals, and others, are excluded from the coverage of the act, either by the statute itself or by board policy. These injustices should be eliminated.

Government Contractors and Violators of Federal Labor Laws

WHEREAS, The Textile Workers Union of America is acutely

concerned about employers who deliberately and repeatedly violate the National Labor Relations Act as part of a carefully calculated campaign to keep unions out of their plants, and

WHEREAS, The policy of the United States government has long been that contractors must meet certain labor standards in order to qualify to do business with the government. Thus, they must conform to the standards set forth in the Occupational Health and Safety Act, the Walsh-Healy Act, the Davis-Bacon Act and others relating to the wages and hours or risk the loss of any further government contracts, and

WHEREAS, President Kennedy proceeded by executive order to establish the principle that workers employed by government contractors were not to be discriminated against because of race, creed, color or national origin. In addition, President Kennedy's executive order provided that sanctions would be imposed against any government contractors who failed to abide by this principle. Most recently the Nixon Administration, by Executive Order No. 11602, prohibited federal agencies from contracting with or providing grants or loans to any organization or person convicted of violation of the Clean Air Act, and

WHEREAS, Some of the largest government contractors in the textile industry have been found guilty of grave, large-scale violations of the National Labor Relations Act and have repeatedly demonstrated that they have no intention of abiding by the law or the directives of the National Iabor Relations Board, even when the courts have upheld those directives, and

WHEREAS, On at least three occasions the AFL-CIO and the Textile Workers Union called upon President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey to rectify the intolerable situation wherein one governmental agency imposes penalties on a company for breaking a federal law while another agency rewards this law-breaker with further government contracts. No action resulted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the 9th Biennial Convention of the AFL-CIO call upon President Nixon to show as much concern for the rights of the working people as he has shown for clean air, and to issue an executive order prohibiting federal agencies from doing business with firms that flagrantly deliberately and repeatedly violate the National Labor Relations Act.

Guards Under the NLRA

WHEREAS, With all its imperfections the National Labor Relations Act offers basic protections for unions and their members, and

WHEREAS, To deny any class of workers full coverage under the act is unjust and discriminatory because they are denied basic protections; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That during the 92nd Congress the AFL-CIO take all possible steps to make it possible for guards to become legitimate members of the AFL-CIO under the NLRA.

Hospitals Under the NLRA

WHEREAS, While hospital charges have increased tremendously, the majority of the almost three million hospital workers in the United States remain without the protection of unionization, and

WHEREAS, The unionization of these workers—many of them paid only the federal minimum wage of $1.60 per hour—is made more difficult by the specific exclusion of non-profit hospitals from coverage by the National Labor Relations Act, and

WHEREAS, Some hospital workers are now granted collective bargaining rights under Federal Executive Order 11491, through state and local government employment and legislation, and through decisions of the National Labor Relations Board with regard to proprietary hospitals, and

WHEREAS, This coverage makes it doubly unfair that non-profit hospital employees are still denied NLRA coverage; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO express complete and continued support of the effort to obtain NLRA protection for the employes of non-profit hospitals.

Anti-Trust Laws for Labor Unions

WHEREAS, The enemies of labor have long tried to weaken the collective bargaining effectiveness of American labor unions by shackling them in various ways to anti-trust regulations, and

WHEREAS, The proper application of anti-trust laws is to anti-competitive practices of business enterprises, not to be applied to the efforts of working men and women who seek to improve their wages, hours and conditions of work through concerted activities and collective bargaining, and

WHEREAS, There are presently pending in the Congress of the United States several vicious proposals whose purpose is to cripple the free American labor movement and to weaken collective bargaining; therefore be it

RESOLVED that the Convention of the AFL-CIO call for the defeat of malicious proposals to put American labor unions under anti-trust laws.

Newark Teachers

WHEREAS, For the past six years Newark, New Jersey, has been the bitterest battleground for teacher unionism in the history of the labor movement. During that period three representation election campaigns were waged against the local affiliate of the National Education Association before the American Federation of Teachers won the right to bargain for Newark teachers. Two exhausting strikes against vicious political forces were necessary—one to achieve a first contract and the second to preserve rights and benefits previously negotiated. And in the process, more than 250 Newark teachers were sentenced to jail terms of up to a year and a half; personal fines of nearly $100,000 have been levied; the entire proceeds of the monthly dues checkoff of Local 481 has been appropriated by the court to apply against an additional fine of $270,000; and the American Federation of Teachers has spent more than a third of a million dollars in support of Newark teachers. Legal expenses of more than $100,000 have accumulated, and the United States Supreme Court has now refused to review the issues involved, and

WHEREAS, The onslaught against the Newark Teachers is an attack upon the entire labor movement. If the forces of repression and anti-unionism prevail in Newark, the union cause in New Jersey and throughout the nation will suffer; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this convention declare our continuing support for the teachers of Newark, call upon the governor of New Jersey to exercise his power to grant clemency to the sentenced teachers, and urge the officers of the AFL-CIO to explore possible further means of assistance to Newark teachers.

Union Shop in Insurance Industry

WHEREAS, efforts have been continuing for over 30 years to organize life insurance agents, and

WHEREAS, those efforts have been hampered not only by industry resistance including "open shop" contract provisions but even more so by turnover of employment, and

WHEREAS, this turnover has accelerated to the point where the Insurance Workers International Union must sign into membership annually 25 percent of its members to keep from dwindling, and

WHEREAS, the Insurance Workers have determined to discontinue this treadmill by securing union shop provisions at any cost in its negotiations in 1972 with the Metropolitan Life and Prudential Insurance companies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the affiliated unions of the AFL-CIO commend this worthy trade union objective and pledge support to the Insurance Workers International Union in its anticipated confrontation with the world's two largest insurance companies.

Birthday of Franklin D. Roosevelt

WHEREAS, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the first President to fully recognize the rights of laboring people and was largely responsible for the legislation furthering the interest of the working man, such as Social Security, unemployment insurance, the Wagner Labor Act (NLRA) recognizing the rights of labor to organize, and other laws beneficial to the laboring man, and

WHEREAS, Such action raised labor to its rightful place of dignity, honor and responsibility in our society; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this convention go on record in favor of recognizing the birthday of this great man, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and be it further

RESOLVED: That we petition the Congress of the United States of America to proclaim this President's birthday (January 30) as a national holiday.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

Old Age, Survivors, Disability and Health Insurance

Social Security beneficiaries require more than sporadic, stopgap and piecemeal legislation to deal with their economic plight. What is required is a comprehensive reform on all fronts to lift the burden of poverty from them and to insure that they will be able to live out their remaining years in comfort, security and dignity. This will clearly require a bold new approach. Among the major improvements we recommend are:

Raise social security benefits across the board by 15 percent effective Jan. 1, 1972 and by 20 percent effective Jan. 1, 1973.

Increase the minimum benefit to at least $100 a month with higher amounts for long-service workers.

Raise the wage base to at least $15,000 to restore the situation that existed in the early years of the program with respect to the proportion of covered earnings taxed and counted for benefit purposes and, thereafter, adjust in line with increases in wage levels.

Reduce waiting period for disability benefits to one month and permit older people who are below retirement age but who are not totally disabled to receive benefits if they are unable to engage in their usual occupations because of disability.

Pay for the cost of future improvements in the Social Security Act in part by payment of contributions to the Social Security Trust Fund from general revenues.

Unemployment Insurance

We favor a comprehensive reorganization and fundamental improvement of the unemployment insurance system under a single federal program with full protection of the job rights and employment conditions of all state employes who presently administer unemployment insurance. Pending such reorganization, the AFL-CIO will continue to urge Congress to enact unemployment insurance legislation to provide uniform minimum standards for eligibility, weekly benefit amounts, benefit duration, and disqualifications.

To achieve these goals, the AFL-CIO Executive Council recommends prompt enactment of legislation to:

Establish minimum federal benefit standards that will permit the application of the following principles to state enacted weekly benefit levels;

The weekly benefit amount should replace not less than 66⅔ percent of the worker's full-time weekly wage or 1/20 of high-quarter earnings. This wage replacement principle should be applied to the great majority of covered workers. Individual benefits of 66⅔ percent of weekly wage-loss are needed to cover nondeferrable living expenses and maintain normal family living standards.

The base for computing benefit amounts should be the worker's full-time gross weekly earnings during those weeks of the base year when earnings were highest.

Dependent allowances may supplement an adequate basic benefit schedule, but they should be provided only as a specified flat increment per dependent, entirely separated from and supplemental to the basic benefit schedule.

Extended coverage to all wage and salary workers including all workers in small firms—employers of one or more workers at any time—domestic workers, agricultural workers, all workers employed by nonprofit organizations, and all workers employed by state and local governments.

Establish reasonable qualifying requirements (maximum limits for state laws should not exceed 20 weeks of work or its equivalent).

Require duration provisions in state laws that would maintain the original concept of a 6 month benefit period based on a 5 month work period (26 weeks duration for 20 weeks of work).

Encourage the states to eliminate the waiting week by requiring it be compensated retroactively after a few weeks of unemployment limit disqualifications in all cases to a fixed period (the maximum period to be established at six weeks or the average period of joblessness in the state whichever is less).

Prohibit application of a state disqualification period in claims involving labor dispute issues. Immediate action should be taken to prohibit imposition of state labor dispute disqualifications in case of: lockout; layoff during negotiations; an employer violation of any state or federal labor law, or any arbitration decision; a worker not directly interested in the labor dispute; a labor dispute occurring at a location other than the worker's place of employment.

If a disqualification is provided, it should not extend beyond a limited period (maximum of six weeks) after which the dispute can no longer be considered the main reason for continued unemployment.

Prohibit any reduction or cancellation of a worker's benefit rights or base period wages.

Improve the financing of the system by: permitting reduced rates on a basis other than experience rating for all covered employers, prohibiting zero tax rates, and raising the taxable wage base, in steps, to the same base used for purposes of financing Old-Age, Survivors, Disability, and Health Insurance.

Federal legislation should also be enacted to establish an extended benefit program on a continuing basis for long-term unemployed workers who have had a firm attachment to the labor force. This program should also provide adequate opportunity for such workers to obtain vocational guidance and training as well as other appropriate types of assistance needed to qualify them for suitable jobs.

Public Welfare

The AFL-CIO reiterates its support for early enactment of genuine welfare reform under federal financing and administration. We call for raising the minimum basic family assistance payment from the $2,400 level in the House-passed bill to $3,000 and to no less than the poverty level (currently $3,900) within a few years. We also insist that no payments should be reduced below current levels, no welfare recipient should be referred to a job paying less than the minimum wage, no mother should be referred to work in the absence of adequate child care facilities for her children, and the job rights and employment conditions of state and local employes who presently administer welfare must be protected when the federal government takes over the program.

Enactment of these changes would constitute the first step toward the genuine reform of the welfare system the AFL-CIO has long advocated. But it is only the first step. The AFL-CIO will continue to work for a welfare program that will provide adequate income for the needy who are unable to work, training programs leading to suitable jobs at decent pay for all those who can work, and expand child care, health, counseling rehabilitation and other supportive services.

Only that kind of welfare program will be fair to recipients and taxpayers alike. Only that kind of welfare program can give new hope and dignity to millions of disadvantaged Americans.

Child Care

In 1965 the Women's Bureau of the Labor Department conducted a survey which looked into the kind of care provided for the 12.3 million children under the age of 14 of this country's working mothers. Among other statistics, the survey showed that 46 percent of these children were cared for at home, 16 percent by relatives outside the home, 15 percent by mothers on the job, eight percent were left to care for themselves, and only two percent were enrolled in any kind of day care center.

Today, the situation is much worse. The number of working mothers has almost doubled. The available space in licensed

child care centers provides for less than 40,000 additional children.

At the same time, the present welfare crisis has led to an increased emphasis in finding jobs for mothers and a decreased interest in providing decent care for their children. Many people in both the executive and legislative branches of the government are demanding that the mother get off the welfare roll—even when it means the minimum of custodial care, or no care at all for her children.

The AFL-CIO is convinced that such a policy is disastrous. These children of the poor are already disadvantaged. To further deprive them of opportunity in their most formative years is to make them doubly disadvantaged. If these children spend their early years neglected in a back room or left to roam the streets unattended, the next generation will face problems much more severe than the cost of welfare.

The AFL-CIO supports the comprehensive child development legislation which recognizes these problems and provides effective solutions. Bills providing the legislative framework for eventual universally available child development programs for all families who need and want them are now being drafted in House and Senate committees. Priority on preschool programs continues, but services will be expanded to include infant care and before and after school services for children in school, as well as parental services and child development training for parents and prospective parents.

The legislation is designed to allow the greatest possible flexibility, within the priorities established, to provide whatever combination of full- or part-time, day or night services, in-the-home services, neighborhood centers, schools, or work-based facilities will best meet locally determined needs. Planning, operation, and administration of programs will take place at the local level through the partnership of parents, community, and local government. It emphasizes participation of parents and older family members in the development and implementation of the programs which serve their children.

Workmen's Compensation

The AFL-CIO pledges its support to enactment of a Federal Workmen's Compensation Act. As a minimum first step in this direction, we urge the passage of HR 1493. This bill, introduced by Rep. Carl D. Perkins (D-Ky.) chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, would substantially improve existing workmen's compensation programs. But, short of this, every AFL-CIO affiliated organization should give increased support to efforts designed to obtain the following minimum

standards in existing state and federal workmen's compensation programs:

Compulsory coverage with no numerical exemptions.

Coverage of agricultural workers in the same manner as other employes.

Benefit levels sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living for injured workers and their dependents, with weekly benefits of not less than two-thirds of the injured worker's average weekly wage.

Reciprocity of benefit rights between jurisdictions.

Time limits within which an employe must file a claim for occupational disease of at least one year after the date when the employee has knowledge of the nature of his disability and its relation to his job and until after disablement.

Full statutory coverage of all occupational diseases.

Coverage of diseases caused by ionizing radiation.

Full medical benefits for job-incurred personal injuries and occupational diseases.

Full compensation protection under second injury funds.

Free choice of qualified physician by injured workers.

The workmen's compensation agency to have the authority to supervise and control medical care of injured workers.

The workmen's compensation agency to include a rehabilitation division which should promote full utilization and development of rehabilitation facilities for the benefit of injured workers.

Maintenance benefits during rehabilitation.

Administration under a state agency rather than by the courts.

An exclusive state compensation fund.

Benefits for the totally disabled for the period of disability.

In case of death, benefits to be paid to the widow until her death or remarriage, and to children at least during their minority, and to other dependents during the period of their inability of self-support.

Minors under 18 who are injured on the job if employed in violation of any state law to be paid benefits double those otherwise payable.

Prohibition of special contracts with employers whereby a worker with a specific physical defect waives his right to compensation in the event of a subsequent injury.

Prohibition of lump-sum settlements and compromise of rights to full medical care under compromise and release settlements unless the workmen's compensation agency approves such a settlement on the advice of the appropriate state rehabilitation unit or agency.

Judicial review to be limited to consideration of the record of the workmen's compensation agency on questions of law only without trial de novo. In addition, there should be an appeals

board which has no administrative responsibilities and from which appeal on matters of law only can be made to the highest court in the state (this standard is based on the assumptions that the administration of the state law is of a quality that assures adequate protection to injured workers, and that jury trials and trials de novo will continue until administration of state laws reaches a level that fully protects the rights of all injured workers and their families).

We also recommend immediate enactment of proposed amendments to the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act. It is 11 years since Congress enacted any improvements in this workmen's compensation program. Approximately one million working men and women covered by this program have witnessed an annual deterioration of their workmen's compensation protection due to congressional inaction. The Longshore Act, in the early 1960's, was a pace setter among state programs. Today, it is falling behind state programs in terms of worker protection.

This unfortunate situation and the reluctance of Congress to improve the program is the direct result of legal conflicts between stevedore employers and shipowners. These legal conflicts should not be permitted to erode the protection this program was intended to provide injured workers.

We urgently recommend the enactment of legislation to substantially improve the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act at the earliest practical date.

National Health Security

On Feb. 19, 1971, the Executive Council endorsed the new National Health Security bill and urged speedy congressional action. The council pledged that NHS "is and will remain our No. 1 legislative goal until victory has been won."

The National Health Security bill (S3 and HR 22) incorporates the following features:

- Universal coverage whether employed or unemployed.
- Comprehensive benefits without deductibles or co-insurance; no arbitrary cutoff points in dollars or number of days of coverage. There will be no exclusion of coverage for pre-existing conditions; no limitations on physical examinations and other preventive services and no waiting periods.
- Free choice of physician.
- Financed through Social Security with matching contributions from federal revenues.
- Provides for a Health Resources Development Fund to be used for health manpower education and training, group practice development and for expanding and improving health services.

- Effective cost controls.

The time is ripe for enactment of National Health Security. Organizations that previously opposed Medicare such as the American Medical Association, the American Hospital Association and the insurance industry have sponsored the introduction of alternate proposals. There is a remarkable consensus among these interests and by the Nixon Administration on the nature and causes of the health care crisis. But all of the other proposals fail to provide a real solution.

There are four major alternative proposals to National Health Security. They are:

1. National Health Insurance Partnership (the Nixon Administration proposal for a National Health Insurance Standards Act and a Family Health Insurance Plan).

2. Ameriplan (the proposal of the American Hospital Association).

3. Healthcare (the proposal of the Health Insurance Association of America).

4. Medicredit (the bill based on the proposal of the American Medical Association).

Other proposals have been introduced by Senators Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.), Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), Hugh Scott (R-Penn.) and Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.). Many more bills can be expected in the months ahead as national health insurance is debated.

Shortly after the Nixon Administration introduced its bill, the Executive Council said: "The President's proposals do not match the liberal rhetoric of his health message. Indeed, taken as a whole, his program falls far short of meeting the 'massive crisis' in health care the President proclaimed."

The President's message called for "equal access to health services for all citizens." Yet, the administration does not cover the long-term unemployed, state and county municipal workers, part-time employes nor migratory workers.

The Nixon health message emphasized that more attention should be given "to treating illness in its early stages," thereby preventing acute illness. Yet, the Nixon plan provides for substantial deductibles and co-insurance payments by beneficiaries which place financial barriers to early treatment and preventive care.

The Executive Council examined the "medicredit" and "healthcare" proposals and concluded: "(They) are thinly disguised efforts to protect vested interests and insurance company profits. They are bandaids, where surgery is required."

The other proposals are somewhat more substantive; however, all of the proposals, except NHS, lack at least one of the following:

- Equal access to health care for all people.

- Comprehensive coverage.
- Restructuring of the health care system.
- Effective incentives for quality and efficiency.
- Controls on costs.
- They depend on inadequate private insurance as carriers or intermediaries or both.

In view of the many failings of the other proposals, the AFL-CIO reaffirms its strong endorsement of National Health Security. Only Health Security meets the goal of providing medical care as a right for all Americans.

Prepaid Group Practice Plans

The AFL-CIO calls upon each state and local central body to organize health committees to include representatives from local health and welfare plans to explore with other community groups the possibility of organizing a prepaid group practice health plan.

The AFL-CIO urges all international unions to include a dual choice option in their collective bargaining demands for health insurance benefits so that each member may have the opportunity to join a prepaid group practice plan should the opportunity arise.

Veterans' Hospitals

WHEREAS, During the Vietnam war nearly 300,000 Americans have been wounded. These Americans who have been disabled in the service of their country are entitled to rceive from their government the best medical care. They are not getting that care today because of the shocking deterioration that has taken place in Veterans Administration hospitals, and

WHEREAS, Many VA hospitals are understaffed with shortages of physicians, nurses and other medical personnel while some hospitals are dangerously overcrowded, and

WHEREAS, Construction of new facilities, purchase of essential equipment and hiring of required staff has been deferred because of a lack of funds. Defects in the VA medical care system have caused alarming waste of precious months and years of the lives of returning veterans who have been deprived of the care they need and abundantly deserve for recovery and rehabilitation, and

WHEREAS, The proposed 1972 fiscal year budget contains the shocking proposal to cut $116,583,000 from the VA Hospital System budget, and

WHEREAS, This cut would reduce the daily patient load by 6,823 or an amount equal to closing fourteen 500-bed hospitals, and

WHEREAS, Our returning veterans deserve no less today than the best. The VA hospitals must be restored to their former standard of excellence, and

WHEREAS, America must assure the highest quality of care to those who have been disabled in the service of their country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO calls upon the Congress to conduct a thorough-going investigation of VA hospitals including staffing, overcrowding and the physical condition of the facilities, and be it further

RESOLVED: To urge the Congress to substantially increase the appropriation for VA hospitals over the amount requested by the Administration.

U.S. Public Health Service Hospitals

WHEREAS, For almost one year a sword of Damocles has hung over the future of the United States Health Service Hospitals. Since December, the PHSH hospitals and their dedicated staffs have been faced with the prospect that the announcement could come at any time ending their hospital jobs thus forcing them to give up the Public Health careers to which they have dedicated their lives, and

WHEREAS, Three times in the last five years the men and women of the Public Health Service have faced this threat. Each time they have seen parts of the U. S. Public Health Service system whittled away by a singular bureaucratic logic that would close hospitals at a time when there is greater need than ever before for such services, and

WHEREAS, Established in 1798 to serve merchant seamen, and later, Coast Guardsmen, injured government employees and many other groups, the hospitals of the Public Health System are symbols of the finest in public medicine. They are health resources of the kind America has long been in short supply and are virtually irreplaceable in a period of too little available medical care, and

WHEREAS, In the face of HEW's threats to close the hospitals, strong steps have been taken by the Congress to maintain them, and

WHEREAS, In February, the Controller General of the United

States, told Congress that the Public Health Hospital System could not be dismantled, either in segments or all at once, and

WHEREAS, In March, the Congress held five days of hearings on the PHS hospitals and their excellent health efforts, both for the primary beneficiaries of PHS and for all Americans, and

WHEREAS, In July, the Senate passed a resolution calling for the maintenance of the PHS hospitals through 1972 and also urged that they be modernized, and

WHEREAS, In August, the Congress reinstated the $14 million left out of the Administration's 1972 budget for the operation of the PHS hospitals and the House of Representatives passed a resolution similar to the Senate's thus adding its support to the demands that the PHS system be strengthened and that a study be made of the best use of the PHS hospitals in the future, and

WHEREAS, To these Congressional acts of support and encouragement for the hospitals must be added those of organized labor, private medical schools, community groups and others who see the potential inherent in these hospitals. The Public Health Service, with proper development, could provide new guidance in the fields of drug addiction, hospital equipment testing, and many other areas where the private medical sector cannot meet the great demands being placed upon it, and

WHEREAS, Yet, in the face of this strong and widespread support for the PHS hospitals and their dedicated staffs, the Department of HEW has attempted to pursue its plan to close the hospitals. It has ignored the congressional mandate for a broad study of all possible alternatives for the PHS hospitals and has instead chosen a narrow approach to the program, in asking the communities to either accept the transfer of the hospitals or see them close. In the face of this duplicity by the Department of HEW, it is clear that strong efforts must be made to see that the Congressional intent is met and that a true study is made, one that will demonstrate the community involvement and support for these hospitals, and

WHEREAS, In spite of the repeated strong mandates by the Congress for the maintenance of the PHS Hospitals, the Office of Management and Budget has consistently sought to undermine and eliminate the Hospitals. In its latest attempt to accomplish this goal, the OMB has ordered that two hundred (200) physicians from the Public Health Service be transferred to the new Emergency Health Manpower Program. Should this doctor transfer take place, it will decimate the staffs of many PHS Hospitals and clinics forcing a curtailment of services and the closings of many PHS clinics, and

WHEREAS, When Congress established the Emergency Health

Manpower Program, it did not intend that the PHS Hospital physician corps should be cannibalized for the staff needs to support the new Health Manpower Program. Thus, OMB's actions will eliminate the services and the doctors that serve merchant seamen and other PHS beneficiaries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO strongly urges the Congress to appropriate additional monies to support the continued operation of the PHS hospitals and for needed modernization and maintenance of the PHS buildings, so that these hospitals can carry out a program of expanded service to the beneficiaries of PHS and to the local communities where the hospitals are situated, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO urges that the great potential of the Public Health hospitals for new and innovative types of delivery of hospital services and medical and drug treatment be fully utilized to the benefit of the primary beneficiaries of the PHS and for all Americans, through an expansion of PHS medical treatment and medical training facilities, and be it further

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO strongly condemns the actions of the Office of Management and Budget in seeking to transfer two hundred PHS doctors from the Public Health Hospitals and clinics and urges Congress to immediately pass a resolution calling for the maintenance of the present level of Public Health Hospital staffing and for the addition of new Public Health doctors to meet the needs of the Emergency Health Manpower Act.

Community Services

The collective bargaining agreement does not meet the emergency needs of union members and their families for food, shelter, clothing and medical care caused by natural and man-made disasters such as hurricanes, floods, earthquakes, layoffs, strikes and riots.

It is a responsibility of the union, therefore, to extend its services to its members and their families beyond the plant gates and the collective bargaining agreement into the neighborhood and the community as a whole by establishing effective organizational relationships with community agencies and facilities for the complete development and full utilization of all health and welfare resources for the benefit of the people.

Such active labor participation in community affairs, on the policy-making boards of agencies, in developing needed new services, in social action for more and better facilities and in the application of collective bargaining relationships, will help make communities more representative of the people and more re-

sponsive to the people's needs.

A by-product of labor's public service and concern for a better community for all is effective community and public relations for the trade union movement as a whole.

For these reasons—the AFL-CIO believes:

1. That all AFL-CIO affiliates be urged to establish community services committees for the purpose of effective participation in community affairs.

2. That national and international unions and state and local central labor bodies be urged to designate full-time community services directors wherever possible.

3. That central labor bodies in a selected number of communities should be assisted in developing labor community service agencies to perform, extend and expand their community service functions.

LEGISLATIVE AND POLITICAL POLICIES

Political Activities

The political stakes in 1972 will be extremely high. There will be a strong opportunity to support a winning presidential candidate and to elect a substantially more liberal House and Senate. Such a combination could produce needed social legislation on the same scale as 1965-66, following the Johnson landslide.

But victory will come only with total commitment at all levels of the trade union movement, most particularly at the local union level where members can be reached, educated, motivated and persuaded to register and vote and give $1 to COPE. We recommend:

Establishment of a COPE committee in every affiliated union, charged with the responsibility of engaging every member possible in the democratic process to the extent at least of registering and voting and contributing to COPE. Collections of COPE voluntary dollars are vital, and every effort should be made to seek $1 for COPE from every union member.

An extra effort by local unions, state and local councils and international unions to involve the first time voters who will be eligible to vote in 1972. Young members, and voting-age offspring of union members, can bring tremendous new zeal and energy to our political programs.

All levels of the leadership and staff of the labor movement should make political action a priority activity from now to Election Day 1972, to cooperate with COPE in every way possible and thereby to assure that everything that can be done to achieve political victory will be done.

Rehnquist

Political extremism of the right and of the left has no place on the Supreme Court of the United States. It is for that reason that this Convention views the nomination of William H. Rehnquist as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court as a dangerous departure from the philosophy of a broadly representative, constitutionally sound Court.

We do not believe a President's desire to name Justices with a similar political philosophy to his should extend to a nomination that is a direct rebuff to the rights and liberties of individuals guaranteed by the Constitution and its first 10 amendments.

The President has said that Mr. Rehnquist is a "strict constructionist" of the Constitution. However, his record, his writings, his self-expressed philosophy clearly shows he is a strict constructionist of the Constitution prior to the adoption of the Bill of Rights.

Mr. Rehnquist purposely avoided the efforts of members of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate to question his views on such constitutional questions as wiretapping, executive power and civil liberties. These questions must be answered in open session or risk a lack of confidence on the part of the American people in the Court as an equal and independent institution of American society.

The American people are already deeply concerned by the circus atmosphere surrounding the latest Court nominations made by President Nixon. The "leaks" and "counter-leaks," the "lists" and "non-lists" followed by the nomination of one of the Administration's chief apologists hardly reflects the "respect for the Court" of which the President spoke when he announced the nominations.

The Supreme Court is too important, too respected and too necessary to American society for the Senate to now confirm Mr. Rehnquist while the American people ask questions: Is he more loyal to a President than to the Constitution? Will he respect individual liberties more than Executive power?

These are proper questions. These are questions Mr. Rehnquist has not answered.

President Nixon has attempted to pack the Supreme Court with ideological and demagogic reactionaries. The Senate properly rejected his nominations of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell.

It must do so again—this time with the nomination of William Rehnquist. The future of today's citizens, their children, and their grandchildren is too important to permit a man of Mr. Rehnquist's philosophy to exert his influence over the constitutional direction of American society for the remainder of this Century.

Therefore, be it resolved that the Ninth Convention of the AFL-CIO urges the Senate to reject the nomination of William Rehnquist. Men of his philosophy, just as men of the philosophy of the far left, have no place on the Court.

Freedom in Broadcast of News

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO views with grave concern any attempt by the government to influence or intimidate the broadcast of news, and

WHEREAS, The First Amendment assures Americans the right to a free flow of information, and

WHEREAS, Continuing attacks by the executive and legislative branches of our government against broadcasting are steps down a dangerous path that could lead to government restriction of that basic freedom, and

WHEREAS, Efforts to undermine the public confidence in any segments of the press will only undermine confidence in all national institutions, beginning with the government itself; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: Because a free press is a measure of a free society, and anything that weakens it weakens all the liberties Americans enjoy, the AFL-CIO opposes a government presence in the newsroom. Further, that because most Americans get their news information through television and radio, these channels must be kept clear of government obstruction and intrusion, and be it further

RESOLVED: That because the laboring man and in most instances organized labor are the first targets and in some instances the first victims of government control and restrictions, all locals and internationals of the AFL-CIO are urged to communicate the spirit and intent of this resolution to congressmen in their states and districts.

Home Rule for the District of Columbia

WHEREAS, The Maryland State and D.C. AFL-CIO, representing many members in the District of Columbia, has for many years advocated full suffrage for the District of Columbia, and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has passed a constitutional amendment which has been ratified by the states granting the right to vote for President and Vice President to the citizens of the District of Columbia, and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has approved legislation which now allows the election of one (1) non-voting delegate for the District of Columbia, and

WHEREAS, The prospects for home rule and national representation are brighter now than for many years; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the Maryland State and D.C. AFL-CIO urges all segments of the AFL-CIO to assist the Washington Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO in securing the passage of legislation to achieve these objectives.

ACTIONS AFFECTING AFFILIATES

Support of State and Local Bodies

WHEREAS, The Convention of the Colorado Labor Council directs the executive officers of the council to submit all convention actions that pertain to the AFL-CIO, this convention's recommendations to the AFL-CIO and this convention's strong beliefs that State and Local Central Bodies must be given fuller support from memberships with their own states and areas to the Ninth Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO, such submissions to be made no later than October 15, 1971, in accordance with the rules of the AFL-CIO and matters that can be considered by its own Biennial Conventions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO Ninth Constitutional Convention urges each of its affiliate bodies to conduct a thorough inventory of the affiliation status of each of its own local unions or memberships with appropriate State and Local Central Bodies to report to the AFL-CIO Executive Council for action no later than May 1, 1972.

Union Label Week

WHEREAS, A vital objective of the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department is to make the general membership of the AFL-CIO and the general public more aware of the need to buy or demand products that bear the union label, and

WHEREAS, The annual observance of Union Label Week is a primary concern in a year 'round program of the department to make more people union label conscious, and

WHEREAS, The growth of the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department continues on both the national and local level, and

WHEREAS, The Union Label and Service Trades Department, in convention assembled, officially set aside the period September 4-10, 1972 and September 3-9, 1973 as Union Label Week; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in convention assembled, also officially designate the periods September 4-10, 1972 and September 3-9, 1973 as Union Label Week for these respective years.

Union-Industries Show

WHEREAS, The AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department through its annual Union-Industries Show demonstrates the many skills and crafts that are performed by the members of the AFL-CIO, and

WHEREAS, As a result of the exhibition the Union-Industries Show has expanded in all facets and there is a growing recognition and acceptance by both the union members and the public, and

WHEREAS, Participation by all AFL-CIO national and international unions would broaden the scope of these exhibitions and greatly expand their ability to tell the trade-union story to all the nation, and

WHEREAS, Displays at all the Union-Industries Shows would be more beneficial to everyone concerned if each of the national and international unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO would participate, and

WHEREAS, The Union Label and Service Trades Department, in convention assembled, unanimously voted to cordially invite all national and international unions of the AFL-CIO to participate in the upcoming Union-Industries Shows of 1972 and 1973; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations also invite all of its national and international unions to participate in the 1972 and 1973 Union-Industries Shows.

RAILROAD ISSUES

Nationalization of Railroads

WHEREAS, The future of America's economy, perhaps its security, and certainly its hopes of resolving a worsening transportation crisis will require a safe, efficient and dependable railway system, and

WHEREAS, Private managements through ineptness, callous disregard for adequate maintenance and exploitation of their properties' assets have brought the deterioration of railroads beyond a nation's tolerance, and

WHEREAS, One of our largest carriers flounders in reorganization, with an apparently insatiable appetite for taxpayers' money and no evidence that any amount of it can ever be rescued from the wreckage created by conglomerate ownership, and

WHEREAS, The railroad industry's employers demand that employes accept increasingly substandard wages and working conditions, including the abandonment of work rules negotiated at the sacrifice of other benefits over many years, and

WHEREAS, This Administration, apparently blind to each of the above conditions, pursues a singular course with regard to railroads; that of appropriating funds for present operations and sponsoring legislation that would deny workers the essential ingredient of free collective bargaining—the right to strike, and

WHEREAS, Congress earlier took a step toward nationalization of the railroads by enacting legislation through which a semi-public corporation has taken over operation of most intercity passenger trains; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO call upon Congress to establish a commission to make an in-depth study of nationalization of the railroads to determine the feasibility of such action.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

International Trade and Investment

The AFL-CIO believes that the healthy expansion of the world economy is linked to the continuation of a diversified, productive and fully-employed economy in the United States, as well as abroad. There is a critical need for the United States to adopt new international trade and investment policies to meet today's international economic realities and the needs of the American people.

To assure these goals, new U.S. legislative, administrative and negotiating policies should be established to prevent further displacement of U.S. production, market disruption, the export of American jobs and erosion of the tax-base of the federal government, the states and local communities. The President's actions announced on Aug. 15 do not deal with the major causes of the deterioration of America's position in international economic relationships.

The tax and tariff laws have many loopholes, including incentives to encourage U.S. firms to manufacture their goods abroad. These loopholes should be removed, because they have resulted in the substitution of foreign production for U.S. production, with a consequent loss of jobs. An example is the deferral of U.S. taxation of profits, earned by foreign subsidiaries of U.S. corporations, until the profits are returned to the U.S. Such deferral should be ended and the present credit allowance for taxes on foreign-earned income should be repealed.

Tariff law provisions, such as items 807 and 806.30, also encourage firms to establish foreign assembly or processing facilities, using U.S. parts to be assembled abroad, for re-entry of the assembled goods into the U.S., under these low-duty provisions. This practice results in the export of jobs. It adds to imports, displaces exports and disrupts U.S. production. Such incentives for foreign production should be removed.

Proposed tax bonanzas to business, in the name of encouraging exports—such as DISC—would add to tax burdens at home, without assuring significant gains of U.S. production. U.S. tax policy should be geared to the needs of American taxpayers for a progressive, equitable tax system at home.

Special low tariffs (preferences) for imports from developing countries, in a world of managed national economies and multinational companies, are not in the best interests of the United States and the developing countries. These devices distort the income and production structures of both developed and developing countries, while they add to the profit potential of major corporations which seem to know no national loyalties.

The U.S. government now encourages the export of production and jobs through legal mechanisms, technical assistance and

information about the best way to license production abroad and to transfer patents to foreign producers.

These policies should be reversed. Clear legislative direction is necessary to give the President authority to regulate, supervise and curb the outflows of U.S. capital. At the present time, controls on foreign investment are loose, inadequate and not related to trade and production. Authority within the President's hands should include consideration for the kind of investment that would be made abroad, the product involved, the country where the investment would be made, the linkage of the investment to the flow of trade and its effect on U.S. employment and the national economy.

The President should also be granted clear authority to regulate, supervise and curb licensing and patent agreements on the basis of congressionally determined standards. These should include the kind of investment, the product involved, the country of investment, the linkage to trade flows from such transfers and the effect on U.S. employment and the economy.

Quotas should be applied to products and parts of products imported into the United States, allowing for a flexible growth factor related to U.S. production of each item.

Exceptions should be permitted, where a voluntary agreement exists or is negotiated or where a failure to import the item would disrupt U.S. production and/or markets.

Restraints should be reviewed annually to determine their impact. A single agency should be established with quasi-independent authority to serve the Congress in all matters affecting trade.

U.S. negotiators should press for international fair labor standards in international trade agreements. The United States should require reports by foreign based producers on wages, hours, employment etc. on goods imported from abroad. Such reports should be public.

Current law has not resulted in clear information for consumers about the country of origin or products or parts of products. Safety and health standards adopted by the Congress for the U.S. are frequently ignored in the name of free trade. Products and advertisements about them should clearly show the country of origin for components and parts, as well as finished products, to provide consumers with full information. Laws designed to protect the safety and health of American consumers should be enforced.

The Anti-dumping Act of 1921 must be modernized to assure effective action against dumping, with reduction in the amount of time for action by the government. A single agency should make such determinations.

The escape clause of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962—the mechanism to find injury—should be changed to make tests of injury more realistic and less complex. Decisions on trade adjustment assistance should be transferred to the Executive

Branch and should not be looked upon as a major solution for the loss of jobs.

Current legislative and administrative provisions for reporting imports and exports, as well as the operations of U.S. firms abroad are outmoded. Reports on international transactions, exports, imports and investments should be geared to provide useful information for government policy-makers and private groups.

Federal standards for international accounting by U.S. firms with foreign operations should be established and enforced. Such accounting standards should be consistent with the uniform accounting, required by Section 718 of the Defense Production Act of 1950. Under current law, Customs officials classify imports under general categories related to the collection of tariffs, rather than to the actual description of the imported product. Census and Customs Bureaus should have consistent reporting systems so that imports may be related to domestic production. The Tariff law should be amended so that shipping declarations and invoices include product descriptions.

Reports should be made to the federal government (Labor Department) on wages paid by the military and U.S. business abroad. These reports should be on the same basis that U.S. law now requires reporting on wages, hours, etc., at home.

Trade and investment policies should be geared to the interests of the nation and the American people for a healthy and varied economy. U.S. policy must not be determined by the interests of foreign producers, multinational companies and banks. The AFL-CIO urges recognition that multinational firms juggle their production, employment, bookkeeping, prices and taxes, from one country to another, to meet corporate needs. Such export and import transactions are intra-corporate, determined by the executives of the corporation for the benefit and profit of the corporation—they are not traditional trade transactions or foreign competition. The nation's trade policies must not promote private greed at public expense.

The United States needs effective control and supervision over the outflows of capital and technology, an interest policy geared to needs at home, and recognition that more flexible international exchange rates, although necessary, will not solve U.S. monetary or international trade and investment problems. The operations of multinational companies and banks should be regulated to prevent recurring international monetary crises, such as threatened the American dollar's position in 1971.

The policies outlined here are essential to help the United States to adjust to the realities of modern international economic relations. The Burke-Hartke bill comes closest to these policies.

The AFL-CIO reaffirms its support for complete revision of U.S. international trade and investment policies to meet the needs of the nation and the American people in the 1970s.

Radio Free Europe

WHEREAS, Radio Free Europe, which employs more than 300 members of the New York Guild in New York City and Munich, has for a number of years provided the people of East-European nations with their only alternative to the government-controlled press of their homelands and their most direct contact with the peoples and events in the West, and

WHEREAS, Both Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, a sister operation broadcasting to the Soviet Union, seek to lessen tensions between the peoples of the East and West by a means long championed by The Newspaper Guild—the freer flow of information and ideas, and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Congress in July wisely cut off and forbade further covert financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty by the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency. Both have since received interim funding through the U. S. Information Agency, and

WHEREAS, There presently are several proposals before Congress to continue the open funding of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Divisions on the proposals within Congress, however, are apparently wide and present the possibility that Radio Free Europe might be forced to curtail or suspend its operations should its interim funding be depleted before the divisions are resolved. Either event would be a serious blow both to the continued flow of uncensored information to the peoples of the East and to the New York Guild members working for Radio Free Europe; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO call upon Congress to remove this uncertainty by extending the interim appropriation for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty pending further study of the various alternative proposals before it.

CARE

WHEREAS, 1971 marks 25 years of close association between the AFL-CIO and CARE, and

WHEREAS, CARE, with the cooperation and support of the AFL-CIO and 25 other American organizations, continues to allocate supplemental food to millions of hungry children throughout the lesser developed areas of the world, and

WHEREAS, CARE represents the American people, including the affiliates of the AFL-CIO, at the scenes of major world disasters, such as floods, hurricanes and earthquakes, and

WHEREAS, CARE is building and equipping schools and supplying blackboards, pencils, notebooks and other materials to pupils in less prosperous countries, and

WHEREAS, CARE is supplying doctors and medicine to the sick and diseased in several world areas, and

WHEREAS, CARE is currently playing a major role in bringing relief to 9,000,000 sick and hungry refugees who have fled East Pakistan to over-crowded India, and

WHEREAS, CARE has made available to AFL-CIO affiliates "trade union kits," made up of duplicating machines and office supplies to be sent to trade unions who have a great need for them in world areas where trade unionism is weak; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the ninth convention of the American Fedederation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, assembled Nov. 18 in Bal Harbour, Fla., congratulate CARE upon its 25 successful years, and particularly its partnership with the AFL-CIO during that period, and urges members and affiliate unions to give the fullest possible financial support of CARE programs as a means to strengthen peace and stability throughout the world.

Discrimination in Northern Ireland

WHEREAS, For a period of half a century there has existed in Northern Ireland, a government sponsored practice of deliberate discrimination against the state's half million Catholics in a variety of ways causing them to be reduced to second-class citizens in their own country, and

WHEREAS, discrimination in employment has caused a chronic high rate of unemployment to exist amongst the Catholic minority for several decades, and

WHEREAS, For an equal period of time the goverment of Northern Ireland has practiced discrimination in housing against the same minority relegating them into barely habitable ghettos, and

WHEREAS, This program has existed in public as well as private employment and has been devised to cause unnatural divisions between the Catholic and Protestant workers of Northern Ireland, and

WHEREAS, After long and continued suffering from the aforesaid conditions the Catholic minority sought to demand their civil rights by marches and other peaceful and constitutional means, and

WHEREAS, These minority protests were met with vicious attacks and shootings, including the burning of the homes of the Catholic minority, and

WHEREAS, To protect the Catholic minority against Protestant extremists, the London Government sent military troops into the Derry-Belfast regions, and

WHEREAS, The troops were at first welcomed by the Catholic minority, but soon were found to be used to aid the persecutors, and

WHEREAS, Over 400 Catholics have been arrested by the British Army and interned without charge and are held without hope of trial, and

WHEREAS, London based prestigious Amnesty International, an organization dedicated to investigating the conditions of political prisoners everywhere, have concluded from its investigation that prisoners in Belfast are being subjected to torture, and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the Catholic minority have withdrawn from the Stormont Government, and

WHEREAS, The Catholic minority are in the streets in open revolt against these oppressors, armed resistance to the British Army is seen everywhere, and there exists an atmosphere of hate and bloodshed, and

WHEREAS, The source of this deplorable situation can be traced to the unnatural division of Ireland by an Act of the British Parliament in 1920 which allocated Six Counties from the 32 Counties of Ireland with a puppet government, dominated by an all Protestant Sectarian Unionist Party which has gerrymandered the population so as to maintain Sectarian control of the governmental bureaucracy and which party has been directed and manipulated by aristocrats and landlords, who for fifty years past have been exploiting the working class of Northern Ireland and for their purpose have been keeping the working population divided on religious lines, and

WHEREAS, Labor Representatives of our sister trade unions in England and Ireland have condemned this exploitation and discrimination pattern, and a national poll of the people of England shows that 60 percent of the people of Great Britain wish to have their military totally withdrawn from Ireland, and

WHEREAS, Many of our brethren in the trade union movement in England have demanded an end to British involvement in Ireland and many of the leaders of the Labor Party of England have severely criticized the prevailing British Government for permitting the British Army to be used by the Stormont Government in one sided activities against the Catholic minority; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: We the AFL-CIO, at its National Convention held in Miami, Florida on November 18, 1971, do hereby join our brothers and sisters in the Republic of Ireland and our brothers and sisters in Northern Ireland in condemning these insidious practices which have caused so much bloodshed and which threaten to engulf Ireland in further needless carnage and Civil War, and

WE further call for the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland and the establishment of a U. N. peacekeeping force until peace and reason prevails, and

WE urge an immediate end to the Hitlerian policy of internment without charge or trial and a dissolution of the Stormont Parliament and the immediate establishment of laws which guarantee equal and just treatment for all the citizens of Northern Ireland.

WE urge the establishment of a Free and Independent United Ireland with guarantees of liberty and justice to all its people.

WE urge the Congress of the United States and our President to make our people's wishes known to the Government of Great Britain to the end that violence ends and peace, and full freedom come to a United Free Ireland.

Our Country's Commitment To World Peace and Freedom

The security and freedom of our country and the preservation of world peace are the over-riding concern of American labor. This has been the consistent position of the AFL-CIO since its very inception. The Ninth convention vigorously reaffirms that our existence in freedom and as a free trade union movement depends on the strength and the determination of the American people to safeguard their national survival, protect their free way of life, and assure the maintenance of world peace. These vital aims and interests of our country's foreign policy are beyond bargaining or compromise.

These paramount objectives can be significantly furthered by effective cooperation with other nations dedicated to the defense of democracy and the promotion of peace, social justice, and human dignity. History, geography, and destiny have combined to make our country the decisive and strongest force in this alignment. The overall strength which our country still commands is the most imposing obstacle to Soviet and Chinese Communist efforts to snuff out the national independence of still more of their weak and smaller neighbors. The realities of the current international balance of power reflect how critical the world situation has become. Today, more than ever must our country have national unity and determination. It is most urgent

that our nation's commitment to world peace and freedom be combined with adequate economic, moral, and military strength. Only then can America fully discharge its international responsibilities for safeguarding world peace in freedom and fostering economic progress and social justice—especially in the developing countries.

The Convention notes the accelerated growth of Soviet military power and its stepped-up so-called peace offensive (Conference for European "Security"). Moscow is driving to consolidate its post-war conquests, separate Europe from America, and divide and disarm the free world. Especially in view of this Soviet strategy, our Convention strongly deplores the dangerous growth of isolationism in our land. American disengagement from world responsibilities would, today, be more dangerous to freedom and peace than the "Fortress America" policy ever was. The coalition of fiscal reactionaries and rudderless liberals which recently defeated the foreign aid bill in the Senate reveals how grave the neo-isolationist menace has already become in our country. This coalition seriously harms peace, freedom, and human well-being which are so vital to the entire world. In effect, such actions only encourage the totalitarian enemies of our country.

Mankind is now going through a period of insecurity, doubt, and danger far graver than when President Kennedy eloquently pleaded in his memorable inaugural address for our country's leadership in "defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger." Though the Nixon Administration is systematically winding down the war in Vietnam, Hanoi, with all-out support of Moscow and Peking, continues its annexationist drive against all Indo-China. The war clouds over India and Pakistan are ominously dark, with human suffering mounting day by day.

The Communist super-powers have never hidden their intentions and final objective. They incessantly proclaim and persistently pursue with varied tactics—their ultimate aim of subverting, conquering, and dominating all developing as well as developed countries. Today, the prospects for world peace are further imperiled by disarray and illusions in the free world as revealed in the strategy of Ostpolitik and Nixon's mission to Peking. The intense longing of the free world for a relaxation of international tension and the end of the cold war is laudable. But even the noblest aims can never be achieved by wishful thinking. The Communist super-powers who began and never stopped waging war against freedom and democracy must be judged solely by their stubborn refusal to eliminate the wrongs they have inflicted on weaker nations.

What is more, it is unrealistic to assume that international tension can ever be ended without eliminating its causes and sources—such as the denial of self-determination to the Geman

and other peoples, the Wall of Shame in Berlin, the plight of East European satellites, and the expanding Soviet military incursions in the Middle East.

Appeasement policies can never lead to reduced international tension, let alone to a just and stable world peace. American and allied unilateral concessions—without adequate Communist counter concessions—inevitably bring even more unjust Communist demands. World tension is, thereby, not lessened but intensified. The failure of the U.S. and its allies to recognize this stark truth has contributed heavily to the weakening of our country's national will and unity and to the erosion of NATO's defense capacities in the face of Russia's mounting military and naval might. This dangerous pollution of the international political atmosphere has already led to serious impairment of confidence on the part of other countries in the credibility, direction, and strength of U.S. foreign policy.

An Historic Anniversary

Our country is approaching an historic anniversary—the most significant in the history of the post-war world. Next March, it will be 25 years since President Truman addressed a joint session of Congress and proclaimed to the entire world that:

"One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion . . . We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed upon free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States."

Everything that has happened in the world arena since March 12, 1947, when this memorable message was delivered by President Truman, confirms the clarity of his foresight and the correctness of his course. Had the American people not responded positively to Truman's plea for prompt and generous support to Greece and Turkey, the independence of these two small nations would have been crushed as it was in Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia. Then the international situation would by now be infinitely worse for free people everywhere.

A mounting impatience with the international objectives and obligations of the U. S. now grips some of the nation's political leaders. Their isolationist course is generating, in Asia, Europe

and Latin America, moods of skepticism and distrust of the aims of our country's foreign policy. The defeat recently inflicted on the U. S. in the United Nations and the dangerous blow struck by the Senate against America's foreign aid policy reflect and reinforce the trend toward isolationism in the U. S. In addition, the credibility of the United States is being questioned all over the world. Unless the U. S. regains the trust of its allies and friends in the paramount objectives of its foreign policy, world peace will be gravely jeopardized. National power without sound national purpose cannot insure our country's security in freedom or the maintenance of world peace. A return to and re-invigoration of the following objectives, proposed by Truman and welcomed by the aforementioned joint session of the Senate and House, provide the best road to a realization of the indispensable aims of our country's foreign policy:

"It must be the policy of the U. S. to support Free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

"We must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way."

"Our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes."

"This is a serious course upon which we embark. I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious."

There are some in our country who will brand such a course as putting the U. S. on the road to imperalism and turning our country into a world policeman. In fact, some in Congress—a combination of so-called liberals and outright reactionaries (Henry Wallace and Taft) then denounced Truman on exactly these false grounds. The fact that there has been no world war for a longer period of time than that which intervened between World War I and II shows how correct Truman was and how wrong his critics and opponents were.

These Truman guidelines for our nation's foreign policy are as valid today as they were twenty-five years ago. Sound principles are durable and, in history, twenty-five years are not a long time. Furthermore, principles underlying international or domestic policy are not like fashions or cars to be changed annually or every other year. Unless met promptly and vigorously, the political challenge and military threat of today could well become the military aggression, the war, of tomorrow. America and the entire free world owe Truman a debt of immeasurable gratitude. He was fast and firm in his action, once the decision was made. This earned him the richly deserved tribute of "the captain with the mighty heart." An American foreign policy which is firm in principle and flexible in tactics will go a long

way in lessening international tensions and assuring the maintenance of world peace.

We call upon the President and Congress to mark this anniversary in a way which will give appropriate recognition to the lasting contribution made by President Truman to world peace, human well-being and freedom.

NATO

Atlantic unity and strength are absolutely necessary for defending world peace and achieving the relaxation of international tension. We call upon the Nixon Administration to make a top priority effort to promote the transformation of NATO into a genuine partnership with adequately shared responsibilities for maintaining peace and advancing human freedom and well-being.

In this connection, the Convention reaffirms the position taken by the Executive Council in opposing the Mansfield resolution because "a drastic cut in American troop strength in Europe, at the present time," would be "a grave threat to the security of the United States, the freedom of Europe, and the peace of the world . . . Any further major reduction would weaken our military presence to such an extent that the credibility of our commitment might be seriously questioned." (Feb. 1970)

Rebuild and Strengthen the UN

The basic aims of the UN as solemnly proclaimed in its charter are: (1) "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war"; (2) "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person"; (3) "to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained"; and (4) "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

Our country was primarily responsibile for the foundation of the UN. The U. S. has steadfastly supported the UN and its sundry activities. America prvides the biggest share (31.52 percent) of the UN Annual Budget of $194,800,000 in 1971. Last year, the U.S. provided $318,000,000 or about 33 percent of the $967,000,000 expended by dozens of affiliated or specialized UN agencies.

Recent years have demonstrated an increasing incapacity of the UN to promote its basic objectives which are so vital to all mankind in the atomic age. It is now most urgent to examine

anew its organizational structure, fiscal operations, assessment scale, and activities, with a view of devising proposals and plans for enabling the United Nations to fulfill more adequately its great mission. We call upon the Administration to take the appropriate initiative towards this end by designating a special commission to prepare a program for revitalizing the United Nations and restoring the hope and faith which mankind once placed in it.

In the interim, certain remedial measures should be taken to enhance the authority of the UN and help safeguard it against the dangers of paralysis in the wake of its treatment of the China issue. The Convention, therefore, urges our government to propose that (1) Japan be designated as a permanent member of the UN Security Council and (2) that the UN Secretary General and Secretariat be called upon to enforce Article 19 of the Charter which provides that: "A member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall have no vote in the General Assembly, if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contributions due from it for the preceding two full years."

The urgency of compliance with this important charter requirement for membership is confirmed by the fact that the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Poland are $130,400,000 in arrears—derelict, in their payments of contributions to the regular budget and the Congo and Mid-East funds. France has an arrearage of $22,600,000.

The adoption of these interim measures would enhance the stature and prestige of the UN and help stave off the insolvency which has put the United Nations on the brink of bankruptcy.

International Disarmament

The American people are as one in their desire for peace. We of American labor seek a world in which our country can have its great scientific skills, technology, and industrial capacities devoted solely to the attainment of a fuller and better life for all. Towards this end, the AFL-CIO urges our government to: (1) do its utmost, through SALT and other international channels, to secure a gradual reduction of strategic offensive as well as defensive nuclear and other sophisticated weaponry; (2) seek the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction through an effective system of manned, on-site, international inspection, supervision and control.

Until this great goal of world disarmament, which is so vital to all mankind, is achieved, our country must maintain a defense

force capable of deterring and, if need be, defeating any threat to our national security and freedom.

Middle East Crisis

The danger of a serious clash of arms in the Middle East persists because of the unceasing flow of Soviet arms, technicians, advisers and combat pilots, especially into Egypt and Syria. This massive Russian support equips and encourages the most bellicose Arab forces for new aggressive ventures against Israel.

The Convention condemns Russia's direct military involvement in the Arab-Israeli dispute. The increasing deployment of the latest model supersonic planes and missiles, manned by Soviet personnel, bring into bold relief the mounting threat of the Soviet policies and armed presence in the Middle East not only to the very existence of democratic Israel as a sovereign state but also to the vital interests of our own country and to world peace and freedom.

Under these circumstances, it is folly for the Administration to continue its association with the Soviets in the four power commission which is supposed to seek the end of Arab-Israeli hostilities and to attain a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It is also futile for the Administration to seek a so-called interim or limited "solution" (Suez) which would, in effect, weaken the Israeli and help Soviet imperialist expansion in this highly strategic area.

In view of the Soviet role in arming the Arab forces bent on aggression against Israel, it is most urgent that our government lose no further time in providing Israel with planes and other weapons it must have to maintain the balance of power, defend its national existence, and preserve peace. The Administration's virtual embargo of Phantom plane shipments to Israel is shortsighted and detrimental to the vital interests of the U. S., against the President's own oft-proclaimed policy of maintaining the balance of arms between the Arabs and Israel, and a grave peril to world peace.

The AFL-CIO recognizes that Israel's defense, which necessarily embraces virtually all sectors of its population, as well as substantial areas of its economy, constitutes a burden beyond its economic means. Our country's own interests demand that our government should extend maximum economic assistance to Israel through reasonable credit loans and through direct Supporting Assistance, as recently proposed by the Senate. Such economic aid is crucial to the security and progress of Israel.

Only when the combatants, who have for years confronted each other on the battlefield, face each other at the negotiation

table can there be any real hope for a just and lasting peace. Our government should, therefore, discard its efforts for an indirect limited settlement of any isolated specific issue; it should instead concentrate on securing direct negotiations between Arab rulers and Israel.

For Sound and Adequate Foreign Aid

The AFL-CIO is dismayed by the U.S. Senate action of October 29th which threatens the collapse of the foreign aid program. Such a collapse would mean a retreat from our world responsibilities. The utterly short-sighted action by the Senate came at a particularly ill-chosen moment only days after Communist China was put into the UN and provided with the most important international platform for slandering our country and demagogically rallying the representatives of the developing nations against the U.S. Our country cannot turn it back on the developing countries seeking economic progress and social justice. Other developed nations have been showing us an example of responsibility. In recent years the U.S. has fallen to the 12th place in the percentage of GNP devoted to economic aid. If the Senate action is not rescinded, it will be a repudiation of the lessons isolationism taught us at so tragic a cost in the 1930's and 1940's.

We recognize that economic aid is required to strengthen the developing countries and make them less susceptible to pressures by expansionist powers and subversive movements supported by those powers. Moreover, countries with more developed economies and higher purchasing power make better customers than underdeveloped impoverished lands for the products turned out by American workers. Military aid is needed to give developing nations a defense force which they could not mount with their own economic strength.

The United States needs a vigorous foreign aid effort to fulfill our responsibilities both for the welfare of the hungry peoples and the maintenance of a stable world peace. The AFL-CIO calls upon Congress to enact the 90-day continuing resolution on foreign aid. This would allow time for a well-considered and rational restructuring of the foreign aid program which is vital to world peace with security and justice.

The Convention reaffirms the AFL-CIO policy calling for our country's devoting one percent of the nation's GNP to foreign aid.

Africa—Problems and Prospects

The forty-three Independent African States have been engaged for more than a decade in the struggle for economic development and viability. This problem is greatest in Continental Africa—especially what is known as Black Africa, below the Sahara Desert dividing line. Its magnitude is apparent in the 20% rate of unemployment, 92% illiteracy rate, $150 per capita yearly production level, and 2.5% annual population growth, which, in effect, cancels out the progress in production.

No two African countries are alike; yet, all face common basic problems, which, if unresolved, spell depressed living standards. The most pressing problems confronting the African nations are those of uneven availability of resources, agrarian and industrial imbalance, sundry forms of unemployment and, above all, the lack of skills as a major obstacle to economic advancement. Even if an adequate supply of foreign and domestic capital were available, it would be of no avail if skilled labor were not at hand to utilize it properly. The leaders of African nations, some of them former labor leaders—like Andre Bo-Boliko, now the President of the Congolese National Assembly—are courageously meeting these challenges with a sense of realism and rejection of totalitarian doctrines.

Though weighed down by heavy burdens, Africa, with its vast resources, has a great potential for the future. It now produces 98% of the world's diamonds, 65% of the cobalt, 65% of the gold, 40% of the platinum, and 35% of the world's chromium. Our country and labor movement must never lose sight of Africa's great economic possibilities. America's AID program can and should play a positive role here. But today Africa receives less than 10% of our total foreign aid and only 3.8% of U.S. investment abroad, mostly in oil and mines. Expanded aid to the African nations and reform of the methods and objectives of our assistance are vital to economic progress, social justice and democracy on this continent. Through its auxiliary, the African-American Labor Center, the AFL-CIO has been rendering valuable assistance to Africa's economic development and the strengthening of its emerging democratic institutions. Our union-to-union programs in more than 35 African countries have promoted their stability.

Since the last convention, the civil war in Nigeria has ended and a period of reconstruction, reconciliation, and unity has begun. Through the AALC, we are endeavoring to contribute materially to the goal of a united and prosperous Nigeria with a responsible and representative trade union movement.

Although there have been more than 30 coups and countercoups in Africa in the past ten years, there is to be noted, in

most of the affected countries, a gradual return to civilian regimes and the beginning of restoration of democratic rights. Certainly, this is true insofar as the trade union movements in Nigeria, Dahomey, Uganda, Upper Volta and Togo are concerned. In these countries, there is a relative degree of freedom in which unions are operating, growing and participating in the national government's overall economic and social planning in contrast to countries like Algeria, Guinea and Tanzania where no free trade unions exist.

While most of Africa has become nationally independent, the struggle for national freedom continues in most of Southern Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories. The nationalist movements and their leaders who are devoted to political democracy and a democratic society with social justice merit the support of the Free World. Unless these movements receive the understanding and assistance of the Free World, there will be serious danger of Moscow or Peking taking over by masquerading as supporters of freedom and self-determination.

We urge the President and Congress not to join the racist and colonialist regimes of South Africa and Portugal which are the only countries openly committed to breaking the embargo of Rhodesia. We appeal to the President to prohibit the importation of Rhodesian chrome.

Unless our country and its allies are ready to re-examine and correct their position on nationalist movements in Southern and Portuguese Africa and to take account of the wishes and expectations of the people in these areas, the Free World will be doomed to a repetition of the Vietnamese experience. Unless the democratic nationalist movements for independence and self-determination are supported by the Free World, this part of the developing world will, sooner or later, be steeped in violence and bloodshed. At the present level of South African armament, this would lead to the genocidal crushing of 17 million South African blacks.

The Western world must meet this challenge and utilize the opportunity to achieve a peaceful and democratic solution. Action by the American government and private investors in South Africa is required to redirect some economic developments which are already underway there and which provide the possibilities for social changes to improve the black workers' conditions despite the restrictions imposed by the Apartheid system. The very growth of the South African economy imposes "de facto" measures which conflict with the law and dictates of Apartheid. South African economic expansion can no longer rely solely on Europeans for manpower. The need for black African labor is becoming ever more urgent and decisive.

American investors should realize the permanency of African

workers in the South African labor system. Along with all employers, they should realize that not only must black workers be recruited but they must also be trained for skilled jobs and upgraded into supervisory positions. Business concerns, particularly important firms like Ford and General Motors, dealing with South Africa, must begin to establish decent standards and practices. Such a policy would benefit the economy of South Africa and contribute to the political process of eroding and eliminating the system of Apartheid. Towards this end, the trade unions, the U.S. and other democratic governments should urge private investors to extend trade union rights, like collective bargaining, to all workers, especially to black workers; the inclusion of black workers in pension schemes which are still voluntary; and the inclusion of Africans in training and apprenticeship programs and schemes of upgrading which is a key to the eventual democratization of South Africa. This would constitute an intermediate program until the frontal political issues are posed.

Such a program of economic, political and social assistance would strengthen the new forces of Africa, those who have already won and those who are still to win their national independence, as well as bolster the forces of freedom and independence throughout the world.

Latin America—Transition and Tasks

For about a half century, American labor has consistently and vigorously sought to aid and support the development of democratic forces and institutions, especially bona fide free trade unions, in Latin America. In these efforts, our Inter-American Office and Latin-American auxiliary, AIFLD, have faced many complex problems and difficulties, particularly because of the numerous turbulent changes within the last two years. We continue to cooperate with and support the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) which represents almost thirty million workers in North, Central, Caribbean and South America.

In Chile, the Allende coalition government came into office with the support of only 36.3 percent of the popular vote in October 1970. President Salvador Allede operates from a weak power base brought together in the Unidad Popular (UP). The shaky unity of this coalition is seriously threatened by divisions within the more extremist ranks of the Front as evidenced by the resignations of key cabinet members and by defeats in various elections. The opposition Christian Democratic Party has been gaining strength under the leadership of former President Eduardo Frei.

The danger inherent in the "Leftist" government of Chile is

not rooted in its programs which Allende has carried out to date. In fact, the most important of these reforms were envisioned by former President Frei. However, in the realm of foreign policy, Allende has initiated extensive relationships with the USSR and its satellites, with Cuba and Peking, thus providing new opportunities for Communist intrigue and subversion in the southern hemisphere. Chile's neighbors view this development with a marked degree of uneasiness. Allende's expanding relations with the Communist powers are threats to hemispheric security and strengthen the influence of Moscow in the world arena.

We are deeply concerned over the continued delay in restoring full constitutional and representative government in Brazil. More than enough time has elapsed since the 1964 coup to restore the essential freedoms to the great mass of Brazillian people. A modern society must have a bona fide free trade union movement playing a vital role in promoting social justice and economic progress. In such a modern society, there can be no room for private terrorist organizations sponsored by and serving the interests of big landlords or Communist demagogues.

Despite the apparent boom of the Brazilian economy in recent years, the workers have not benefited sufficiently because of the lack of genuine collective bargaining in the country.

Uruguay has been in a state of siege for some months due to the destructive activities of guerrilla groups acting like Fascist bands, as notably characterized by the actions of the Tupamaros. President Pacheco of Uruguay has denounced the cooperation among guerrilla groups operating in his country and neighboring Brazil and Argentina. Uruguay's economy has deteriorated to the extent that fuel is scarce, foodstuffs frequently are unavailable, and the city of Montevideo is in a state of woeful disrepair. Should the leftist Front (Frente Amplio), exploiting the economic deterioration, come into power, Uruguay's traditional democracy would be gravely jeopardized. Were this tragic development to occur, the struggling democratic trade union movement would soon fall under Communist domination. This possibility bodes ill not only for Uruguay, but also for its neighbors.

Peru's unconstitutional and un-representative military government, seeking a base among the people, has recognized and favored the Communist General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP). It has also recently launched a government-controlled labor center, the National Confederation of Workers (CNT). Thus, the Peruvian military junta hopes to destroy the democratic Peruvian Confederation of Workers (CTP) which has been the legitimate spokesman of the workers over the years.

In addition, the economic reforms, promised by the Peruvian colonels—workers sharing in industry's profit, participation in management, and "agrarian reform"—have not been realized. Recognizing the urgency of land reforms, the military regime is striving to introduce state-controlled operation of the rural economy. This move is no substitute for ownership of the land by those who till it. All of these maneuvers only spell the burning need for an immediate return to constitutional and representative democracy.

Latin-American free labor and the AFL-CIO should be in the forefront of the forces determined to continue the exclusion of Communist Cuba from all inter-American councils and joint efforts in behalf of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere. Castro's Cuba is now under more tight Soviet economic control and military direction than ever before. It continues to serve as a base for Communist subversion and Soviet political influence and intrigue for enhacing Moscow's military posture in Latin America. The friends and defenders of Cuban freedom and free trade unionism still languish in Castro's concentration camps and prisons.

The recent overthrow of the Juan Torres Gonzales regime in Bolivia is symbolic of the tempestuous changes to which some Latin American countries are prone. The collapse of this dictatorial clique demonstrates anew the incapacity of the militarists, backed by leftist demagogues, to foster social justice and attain political stability and economic development. It is to be hoped that the latest turn of events will be utilized by the democratic labor movement to close its ranks so that this impoverished people can go forward in improving their working and living conditions and developing sound social relations, effective free trade unions and other democratic institutions dedicated to the building of a viable economy based on social justice.

On the plus side, we note that the democratic trade union movements in Argentina (the majority of the labor movement), Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador and Honduras are making significant gains in terms of collective action to benefit their membership. In these quarters, there is also an acute awareness of the political problems confronting the hemisphere. The AFL-CIO will continue to strive for full cooperation with bona fide labor movements throughout the Americas. The American Institute for Free Labor Development provides programs of trade union education and social projects in seventeen countries in Latin America—all designed to promote the growth of democratic trade union movements rooted in the soil of their respective lands.

Despite substantial assistance rendered by the Alliance for Progress and some resulting advancement registered in certain areas (taxation, health), the great mass of the Latin American

peoples are still plagued by widespread social injustice, massive poverty, inedaquate housing and educational opportunities, and dictatorial military rule. Relief from these oppressive conditions cannot be secured by masquerading as ultra-nationalists; whether the role is played by generals craving popularity, pseudo-liberals, or Communist demagogues. The best hope for economic progress and expanding social justice lies in the extension of democratic rights, the building of strong free trade unions, and the attainment of rising living standards for the workers in the factories and on the farms. On the tenth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress—a decade during which the U.S. provided its Latin American neighbors with assistance averaging annually about $353,000,000—it is more clear than ever that this is the best road to better conditions of life and labor for the rural and urban workers.

In this connection, it must be stressed that the most pressing issue facing the people of Latin America is the preservation and promotion of basic human and democratic rights. No doubt, it would be impermissible and impossible to impose a uniform pattern of economic organization throughout Latin America. In this light, there can be no denial of every country's right to nationalize any of its natural resources or productive undertakings—whether they be domestic or foreign-owned. But, however just, nationalization must be accompanied by negotiated compensation, if national credibility and international economic confidence are to be preserved.

The AFL-CIO will continue to keep abreast of political and socio-economic developments throughout the Americas in order to lend its most effective assistance to the free trade union movements as the bulwark of social justice and democracy. Towards this end, the AFL-CIO conducts its varied activities and maintains its affiliation to the ORIT which unites many segments of the democratic labor movement in Latin America.

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